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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

GREECE,

DURING

THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

BY THE ABBE BARTHELEMY,

LATE KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE,
AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS
AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES;

AND A SEVENTH, IN QUARTO, CONTAINING

Maps, Plans, Views, and Coins,

Illustrative of the Geography and Antiquities of ancient Greece.

THE SIXTH EDITION:

Carefully revised, corrected, and enlarged, by the last improved Paris Edition prepared for the Press by the Author; with Memoirs of the Life of J. J. Barthelemy, written by himself, and embellished with his Portrait.

VOL. VI.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR C. AND J. RIVINGTON; J. AND W. T. CLARKE; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN; T. CADELL; J. AND A. ARCH; JOHN RICHARDSON; J. MAWMAN; W. GINGER; J. BOOKER; R. SCHOLEY; T. TEGG; BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY; J. BOHN; R. SAUNDERS; E. EDWARDS; J. DUNCAN; G. B. WHITTAKER; SIMPKIN AND MARSHALL; T. AND J. ALLMAN; HARDING, TRIPHOOK, AND LEPARD; C. TAYLOR; C. SMITH; J. WICKSTEED; AND F. MASON.

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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS.

CHAPTER LXXV.

Conversation on the Institution of Pythagoras.

The Samian.

You certainly do not believe that Pythagoras has advanced the absurdities that are attributed to him?

Anacharsis. They indeed excited my surprise. On the one hand I beheld that extraordinary man enriching his country with the knowledge of other nations, making discoveries in geometry which can only appertain to genius, and founding that school which has produced so many great men; and on the other, I saw his disciples frequently ridiculed on the stage, and obstinately persevering in the observance of certain frivolous practices, which they justified by puerile reasons, or forced allegories. I read your authors, and made inquiries of the Pythagoreans, but I only met with a mysterious and enigmatical language. I consulted the other philosophers; and Pythagoras was represented to me as the head of a sect

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from Tarentum to Metapontum, and gave chase to them like wild beasts. They fled before their pursuers; but at the sight of a field of beans, which happened to be in their way, they stopped, put themselves in a posture of defence, and submitted to be all massacred, rather than defile their souls by touching that odious vegetable.[n] Presently after, the officer who commanded the detachment surprised two others who had not been able to follow the rest. These were Myllias of Crotona, and his wife Tymicha, a native of Lacedæmon, and far advanced in her pregnancy. They were brought to Syracuse. Dionysius wished to learn from them why their companions had rather chosen to lose their lives than cross the field of beans; but neither his promises nor his threats could induce them to satisfy his curiosity; and Tymicha bit off her tongue, lest she should yield to the tortures, the instruments of which were placed before her eyes. We here see, however, what the prejudices of fanaticism, and the senseless laws by which they are cherished, are able to effect.

Samian. I lament the fate of these unhappy persons. Their zeal, which was not very enlightened, was doubtless soured by the cruelties which had for some time been exercised against them. They judged of the importance of their opinions by the eagerness of their enemies to force them to renounce them.

Anacharsis. And do you think that they might without a crime have violated the precept of Pythagoras?

[n] Hippob. et Neant. ap. Iamb. in Vit. Pythag. c. 31. p. 158.

of enthusiasts, who had taught incomprehensible dogmas, and prescribed impracticable observances.

Samian. This portrait is not very flattering.

Anacharsis. Hear to the end the account of my prejudices and inquiries. When I was at Memphis, I perceived the source from which your founder had derived the rigorous laws to which he had subjected you; they are the same with those of the Egyptian priests.[k] Pythagoras adopted them without considering[l] that the rule of diet ought to vary according to the difference of climates and religions. Let us give an example. These priests hold beans in such aversion, that none are sown throughout all Egypt; and if by chance a single plant any where springs up, they turn away their eyes from it, as from an impure thing.[m] If this vegetable is hurtful in Egypt, the priests acted rightly in proscribing it: but Pythagoras ought not to have imitated them; and still less ought he, if the prohibition was only founded on some idle superstition. He has nevertheless transmitted it to you: and never did it occasion, in the places where it originated, so cruel a scene as has been acted in our time.

Dionysius, king of Syracuse, was desirous to penetrate your mysteries. The Pythagoreans, whom he persecuted in his states, carefully concealed themselves. He gave orders that some should be brought to him from Italy. A detachment of soldiers perceived ten of these philosophers journeying peaceably

[k] Chærem. ap. Porph. de Abstin. lib. 4. p. 309. [l] Recherch. Philos. sur les Egypt. t. i. p. 103. [m] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 37.

from Tarentum to Metapontum, and gave chase to them like wild beasts. They fled before their pursuers; but at the sight of a field of beans, which happened to be in their way, they stopped, put themselves in a posture of defence, and submitted to be all massacred, rather than defile their souls by touching that odious vegetable.[n] Presently after, the officer who commanded the detachment surprised two others who had not been able to follow the rest. These were Myllias of Crotona, and his wife Tymicha, a native of Lacedæmon, and far advanced in her pregnancy. They were brought to Syracuse. Dionysius wished to learn from them why their companions had rather chosen to lose their lives than cross the field of beans; but neither his promises nor his threats could induce them to satisfy his curiosity; and Tymicha bit off her tongue, lest she should yield to the tortures, the instruments of which were placed before her eyes. We here see, however, what the prejudices of fanaticism, and the senseless laws by which they are cherished, are able to effect.

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Anacharsis. And do you think that they might without a crime have violated the precept of Pythagoras?

[n] Hippob. et Neant. ap. Iamb. in Vit. Pythag. c. 31. p. 158.

Samian. Pythagoras has written scarcely any thing;[o] the works which are attributed to him are almost all by his disciples,[p] who have burthened his rules with many new practices. You have heard it said, and it will hereafter be still more confidently affirmed, that Pythagoras annexed an infinite merit to abstinence from beans.[q] It is nevertheless certain that he himself very frequently ate them; as I learned, when a young man, from Xenophilus, and many aged persons who were almost contemporary with Pythagoras.[r]

Anacharsis. And why then did he afterwards forbid them to be eaten?

Samian. Pythagoras permitted the eating of them, because he believed them wholesome; but his disciples have forbidden them because they produce flatulence, and are otherwise prejudicial to health;[s] and their opinion, which agrees with that of the greatest physicians, has prevailed.[t]

Anacharsis. This prohibition then, according to you, is only a civil regulation, or salutary advice. I have nevertheless heard other Pythagoreans speak of it as a sacred law, which is founded either on the

[o] Plut. de Fort. Alex. t. ii. p. 328. Porph. Vit. Pythag. p. 52. Lucian. pro Laps. § 5. t. i. p. 729. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 6. [p] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 7. [q] Id. ibid. § 24. Iambl. Vit. Pythag. c. 24. p. 92. Porph. Vit. Pythag. p. 44. Lucian. Vitar. Auct. § 6. t. i. p. 545. Id. Ver. Hist. lib. 2. § 24. t. ii. p. 122. Plin. lib. 18. c. 12. t. ii. p. 115. [r] Aristox. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 4. cap. 11. [s] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 3. p. 521. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316. Cicer. de Divinat. lib. 1. cap. 30. t. iii. p. 26. [t] Hippocr. de Diet. lib. 2. § 13. t. i. p. 218.

mysteries of nature and religion, or the principles of a wise policy.[u]

Samian. With us, as among almost all religious societies, the civil laws are sacred laws; the character of sanctity, which is impressed on them, renders their observance more certain and easy. Art must be employed to overcome the negligence of men, as well as to subjugate their passions. The rules relative to abstinence are every day violated when they are considered as having no other merit than that of preserving health. The man who, for the sake of the latter, would not sacrifice a single pleasure, will risk his life a thousand times in defence of rites which he reverences without knowing their object.

Anacharsis. Are we to believe, then, that those ablutions, privations, and fasts, which the Egyptian priests so scrupulously observe, and which are so strongly recommended in the Grecian mysteries, were originally only the prescriptions of medicine, and lessons of temperance?

Samian. I am of that opinion; and in fact no person is ignorant that the Egyptian priests by cultivating the most beneficial part of medicine, or that which is more employed to prevent disorders than to cure them, have at all times procured to themselves a long and tranquil life.[x] In their school Pythagoras learned this art, which he transmitted to his disciples,[y]

[u] Aristot. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 34. Iambl. Vit. Pythag. c. 24. p. 92. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 43. [x] Isocr. in Busir. t. ii. p. 163. Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 7. [y] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. c. 29. p. 139; c. 34. p. 196; c. 35. p. 212.

and was deservedly ranked among the ablest physicians in Greece.[z] As he wished to exalt the minds of men to perfection, it was necessary to detach them from that mortal integument by which they are held confined, and which communicates to them its pollution. He therefore prohibited those aliments and liquors which by occasioning disorder in the body, obscure and render heavy the intellectual faculties.[a]

Anacharsis. He believed, then, that the use of wine, flesh, and fish, produced these fatal effects; for all these he has rigorously forbidden you.[b]

Samian. That is a mistake: he condemned the intemperate use of wine,[c] and advised to abstain from it:[d] but he permitted his disciples to drink it at their principal meal, though only in a small quantity.[e] They also sometimes eat of animals offered in sacrifice, except the ox and the ram.[f] He himself refused not to taste of them,[g] though he usually was satisfied with a little honey and some vegetables.[h] He forbade to eat certain fish, for reasons which it is useless to repeat.[i] He besides preferred a vegetable diet to every other; but the absolute prohibition of meat

[z] Corn. Cels. de Re Medic. lib. 1. Præf. [a] Iambl. c. 16. [b] Athen. lib. 7. cap. 16. p. 308. Iambl. cap. 30. p. 156. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 13. [c] Id. ibid. § 9. [d] Clem. Alex. Pæd. lib. 2. p. 170. [e] Iambl. c. 21. p. 83. [f] Id. ibid. Aristox. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 20. [g] Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 37. Aristox. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 418; et Ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 4. c. 11. Alexis. ap. Aul. Gell. ibid. [h] Aristot. ap. Diog. Laërt. ibid. § 19. Athen. lib. 10. p. 419. Porph. Vit. Pythag. p. 37. [i] Iambl. c. 24. p. 92. Diog. Laërt. ibid. § 19. Plut. in Sympos. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 4. c. 11.

was only for such of his disciples as aspired to more exalted perfection.[k]

Anacharsis. But how can we reconcile the permission he granted to others with his system of the transmigration of souls?[l] for, in fact, as the Athenian just now remarked, you continually risk eating your father or your mother.

Samian. I might answer, that the flesh of victims is alone served up at our tables: and that we only sacrifice the animals into which our souls are not destined to transmigrate.[m] But I have a better solution of the difficulty: Pythagoras and his first disciples did not believe in the metempsychosis.

Anacharsis. How?

Samian. Timæus of Locris, one of the most ancient and most celebrated among them, has acknowledged this. He says that the fear of human laws not making a sufficient impression on the multitude, it is necessary to awe them by the dread of imaginary punishments: and to teach that the guilty shall, after death, be transformed into vile or savage beasts, and suffer all the pains annexed to their new condition.[n]

Anacharsis. You overturn all my ideas. Did not Pythagoras reject bloody sacrifices? Did he not forbid to slaughter animals? Whence arose the attention he has shown to their preservation, unless

[k] Iamb. c. 24. p. 90. [l] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 13. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316. [m] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. cap. 18. page 71. [n] Tim. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 104.

from his believing they were animated by a soul similar to ours? [o]

Samian. This was founded on justice. By what right, in fact, do we presume to deprive of life creatures who, like ourselves, have received that gift from heaven? [p] The first men, more obedient to the dictates of nature, only offered to the gods fruits, honey, and the cakes which were their food. [q] They dared not shed the blood of animals, especially those which are useful to man. Tradition has transmitted to us with horror the memory of the most ancient parricide; [r] and by preserving, in like manner, the names of those who by inadvertence, or in a fit of anger, first slew animals of any kind, [s] has shown us the astonishment and abhorrence which such a deed excited in every mind. A pretext therefore was necessary. Animals were found to occupy too much room in the world; and an oracle was invented to authorise us to overcome our repugnance to put them to death. We obeyed; and still, more to stifle our remorse, we wished even to obtain the consent of our victims; whence it is that, even at this day, none are sacrificed without having first, by ablutions or other means, been induced to bow the head in

[o] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 13. Iambl. c. 24. p. 90. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 21. Ritterhus, ibid. p. 22. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316. [p] Emped. ap. Aristot. Rhet. lib. 1. c. 13. t. ii. p. 541. [q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 782. Theophr. ap. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. p. 137. [r] Plut. in Romul. t. i. p. 39. [s] Porphyr. de Abstyn. lib. 2. p. 117 et 119.

token of approbation.[t] With such indignity does violence mock weakness!

Anacharsis. This violence was no doubt necessary: animals, by becoming too numerous, would devour the harvests.

Samian. Those which multiply most, live only a few years; and the greater part, deprived of the care we take of them, would not perpetuate their species.[u] With respect to the rest, wolves and vultures would have delivered us from them. But to prove to you that it was not their depredations that induced us to make war on them, I shall ask you whether the fish, which we pursue in an element so different from that which we inhabit, would ever have laid waste our fields?[x] No; nothing ought to have induced us to defile altars with the blood of animals: for, since I am not permitted to offer to heaven fruits stolen from the field of my neighbour, ought I to present to him a life which appertains not to me?[y] Let us, besides, inquire which is the victim most agreeable to the Divinity. On this question nations and priests are divided. In one place savage and noxious animals are sacrificed; and, in another, those which assist us in our labours. The interest of man, guiding him in this choice, has so associated with his injustice, that in Egypt it is considered as an impiety to sacrifice the cow, and an act of piety to immolate the bull.[z]

[t] Plut. Sympos. lib. 8. quæst. 8. t. ii. p. 729. F. [u] Porphyr. de Abstinent. lib. 4. p. 344. [x] Plut. Sympos. lib. 8. quæt. 5. t. ii. p. 730. [y] Porphyr. de Abstinent. lib. 2. p. 124. [z] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 45. Porphyr. ibid. p. 120.

Amidst this uncertainty, Pythagoras distinctly perceived that abuses consecrated by a long course of ages were not at once to be eradicated. He abstained from bloody sacrifices, and the first class of his disciples abstained from them likewise. The rest, obliged still to preserve connections with the world, were permitted to sacrifice a small number of animals; and to taste, rather than eat, their flesh.[a]

This was a compliance which a respect for custom and religion seemed to justify: and, except in this particular, we live in the most social friendship with the mild and peaceable animals. We are forbidden to do them the least injury.[b] After the example of our founder, we feel the strongest aversion to those occupations the business of which is to put them to death;[c] for experience has but too well proved that the frequent effusion of blood makes the soul contract a kind of ferocity. The chase is forbidden us.[d] We renounce pleasures: but we are more humane, mild, and compassionate than other men;[e] and I will add, much more ill treated. No means have been left untried to destroy a pious and learned society,[f] which, contemning pleasures, has been entirely devoted to promote the happiness of mankind.

Anacharsis. I have been but ill acquainted with your institution: may I be permitted to request you to give me a more just idea of it?

[a] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. c. 28. p. 126. [b] Plut. de Solert. Animal. t. ii. p. ii. p. 964. Iambl. c. 21. p. 84. [c] Eudox. ap. Porph. Vit. Pythag. p. 9. [d] Iambl. ibid. [e] Porphyr. de Abstinent. lib. 3. p. 263. [f] Apul. ap. Bruck. t. i. p. 663.

Samian. You know that Pythagoras, on his return from his travels, fixed his residence in Italy; and that, listening to his advice, the Greek colonies settled in that fertile country, laid their arms at his feet, and consented to make him the arbiter of their disputes; that he taught them to live in peace with each other, and with the neighbouring nations; that both men and women submitted with equal ardour to make the greatest sacrifices; that from all parts of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, an incredible number of disciples resorted to him; that he appeared at the courts of tyrants without flattering them, and induced them to abdicate their power without repining; that at the sight of so many great and beneficial changes, the people every where exclaimed that some deity had descended from heaven to deliver the earth from the evils by which it was afflicted.[g]

Anacharsis. But have not either he or his disciples had recourse to falsehood to support the character he had acquired? Recollect the miracles that are attributed to him;[h] at his voice the sea became calm, the storm was dispersed, and the pestilence suspended its rage.[i] Recollect also the eagle which he called while soaring in the air, and which came and rested on his hand; and the bear that, in obedience to his commands, no longer attacked the timid animals.[k]

Samian. These extraordinary stories have always

[g] Iambl. cap. 6. p. 23; c. 28. p. 118 et 120. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 25. [h] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. c. 17. [i] Iambl. c. 28. p. 114. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 31. [k] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. c. 13. p. 46.

appeared to me destitute of foundation. I find no reason to suppose that Pythagoras ever pretended to exert a power over nature.

Anacharsis. But you will at least allow that he pretended to a knowledge of future events,[l] and to have received his doctrines from the priestess of Delphi.[m]

Samian. He certainly believed in divination; and this error, if it be one, was common to him with the sages of his time, with those posterior to him, and even with Socrates himself.[n] He affirmed that his doctrine was dictated by the oracle of Apollo. If this be esteemed a crime, we must charge with imposture Minos, Lycurgus, and almost all the legislators, who, to give greater authority to their laws, have feigned that they received them from the gods.[o]

Anacharsis. Permit me still to urge my objections, for inveterate prejudices are not easily renounced. Why is his philosophy enveloped in a triple veil of darkness? How is it possible that the man who had the modesty to prefer the title of Lover of Wisdom to that of Sage,[p] should not have had the frankness to declare the truth without disguise?

Samian. You will find similar secrets to those at which you now express your surprise, in the mysteries

[l] Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 34. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 339. Iambl. cap. 28. p. 126. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316. [m] Aristox. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 21. [n] Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 3. t. iii. p. 5. [o] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 84. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 43. p. 36. [p] Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 5. c. 3. t. ii. p. 361. Val. Max. lib. 8. c. 7. Extern. N° 2.

of Eleusis and Samothrace, among the Egyptian priests, and among all religious societies. Nay, have not also our philosophers a doctrine which they exclusively reserve for those disciples whose circumspection they have proved?[q] The eyes of the multitude were formerly too weak to endure the light; and even at present, who would venture, in the midst of Athens, freely to explain his opinions on the nature of the gods, and the defects of the popular government? There are therefore some truths which the sage should guard with care, and suffer only to escape him, if I may so speak, drop by drop.

Anacharsis. But there are others which surely he ought to dispense in a full stream; as the truths of morality, for instance; yet even these you cover with an almost impenetrable veil. When, for example, instead of advising me to fly idleness, or not to irritate an enraged man, you tell me not to sit down on a bushel, or to beware how I stir the fire with a sword,[r] it is evident that, to the difficulty of practising your lessons, you add that of understanding them.[s]

Samian. Yet is it this very difficulty which impresses them more forcibly on the mind. What has been hardly acquired is more carefully preserved. Symbols excite curiosity, and give an air of novelty

[q] Cicer. de Finib. lib. 5. c. 5. t. ii. p. 200. Aul. Gell. lib. 20. c. 5. Clem. Alex. lib. 5. p. 680. [r] Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 69. Id. de Lib. Educ. t. ii. page 12. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. page 42. Iambl. c. 22. p. 84. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 18. Demetr. Byzant. ap. Athen. lib. 10. c. 19. p. 452. [s] Iambl. c. 34. p. 198.

to common maxims; and as they present themselves more frequently to our senses than the other signs of our thoughts, they give greater authority to the laws they inculcate. Thus the soldier cannot sit near his fire, nor the labourer look on his bushel, without recollecting the prohibition and the precept.

Anacharsis. You are so fond of mystery, that one of the first disciples of Pythagoras incurred the indignation of the rest for having published the solution of a problem in geometry.[t]

Samian. It was then a general opinion that science, like modesty, should cover itself with a veil, to increase the charms of the treasures it conceals, and give more authority to him by whom they are possessed. Pythagoras doubtless profited by this prejudice; and I will even acknowledge, if you insist, that, after the example of some legislators, he had recourse to pious frauds to gain credit with the multitude;[u] for I equally mistrust the extravagant eulogiums which have been bestowed on him, and the odious accusations that have been employed to blacken him. But what insures his glory[x] is, that he conceived the grand project of a society which, perpetually subsisting, and becoming the depositary of the sciences and of manners, should be the organ of truth and virtue, when men should be able to listen to the one, and to practise the other.

A great number of disciples embraced the new

[t] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. c. 34. p. 198. [u] Hermipp. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 41. [x] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 600.

institution.[y] He assembled them in a spacious edifice, where they lived in common,[z] and were distributed in different classes. Some passed their lives in meditation on heavenly things; others cultivated the sciences, and especially geometry and astronomy;[a] while others, who were called managers or stewards, were charged with the direction of the house and its affairs.[b]

It was not easy to obtain admission as a novice. Pythagoras examined the character of the candidate, his habits, his behaviour, his discourse, his silence, the impression which objects made on him, and the manner in which he carried himself to his relations and friends. As soon as he was accepted, he deposited all his property in the hands of the stewards.[c]

His probation or noviciate lasted several years; but this term was abridged in favour of those who sooner attained to perfection.[d] During three whole years the novice received no kind of notice or respect in the society, but was, as it were, devoted to contempt. Afterwards, condemned to silence for five years,[e] he learned to bridle his curiosity,[f] to detach himself from the world, and to employ his thoughts on God alone.[g] All his time was taken up with

[y] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 15. Iambl. c. 6. p. 22. [z] Iambl. ibid. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 25. [a] Anonym. ap. Phot. Cod. 249. p. 1313. Aul. Gell. lib. i. cap. 9. [b] Iambl. c. 17. p. 59. [c] Id. ibid. p. 58. [d] Aul. Gell. lib. i. c. 9. [e] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 10. Lucian. Vitar. Auct. § 3. t. i. p. 542. Iambl. Vit. Pyth. c. 17. p. 59. [f] Plut. de Curios. t. ii. p. 519. [g] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 686. Iambl. ibid. p. 57.

purifications, and different exercises of piety:[h] he heard, at intervals, the voice of Pythagoras, who was concealed from his eyes by a thick veil,[i] and who judged of his disposition from his answers.

If the progress he made gave satisfaction, he was admitted to the sacred doctrine; but if he disappointed the expectations of his masters, he was dismissed, and his property restored to him considerably increased.[k] From that moment he was as it were blotted out from among the number of the living. A tomb was erected for him within the house, and the members of the society refused to know him if by any accident they saw him again.[l] The same punishment was inflicted on those who divulged the sacred doctrine to the profane.[m]

The ordinary associates might, with the permission of, or rather by an order from, the chief, re-enter into the world, take on them public employments, or superintend their domestic affairs, without renouncing their first engagements.

Unassociated disciples, both men and women, were admitted to different houses;[n] where they sometimes remained whole days, and were present at different exercises.

And, lastly, virtuous men, the greater part residing in distant places, were affiliated to the society,

[h] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. c. 17. p. 61. [i] Id. ibid. p. 60. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 10. [k] Iambl. ibid. [l] Orig. contr. Cels. lib. 3. t. i. p. 481. Iambl. ibid. p. 61. [m] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 680. Lysid. Epist. ap. Iambl. Vit. Pythag. c. 17. p. 62. [n] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. c. 36. p. 214. Porphyr. Vit. Pyth. p. 25. Kust. ibid.

laboured to promote its advancement, imbibed its spirit, and practised its rules.

The disciples who lived in common rose very early, and immediately on their awaking employed themselves in two examinations: the one relative to what they had said or done the preceding evening, and the other to what they were to do on the ensuing day; the former to exercise their memory, the latter to regulate their conduct.[o] After having put on a white and extremely neat[p] robe, they took their lyres, and sang sacred songs,[q] till the moment when the sun appearing above the horizon, they prostrated themselves before him,[r]* and went each separately to walk in pleasant groves or agreeable solitudes. The aspect and tranquillity of these beauteous scenes diffused peace and harmony through their souls, and prepared them for the learned conversations that awaited them at their return.[s]

These were almost always held in a temple, and turned on the accurate sciences, or on morality,[t] of which skilful professors explained to them the elements, and gradually conducted them to the most exalted theory. Frequently they proposed to them,

[o] Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 245. Iambl. c. 29. p. 140, 141; c. 35. p. 206. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 40, 41. Carm. Aur. v. 40. [p] Aristot. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 19. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 32. Iambl. cap. 21. p. 84; c. 28. p. 126. [q] Iambl. c. 25. p. 95. [r] Id. cap. 35. p. 206. * It appears that Socrates, at the rising of the sun, after the example perhaps of the Pythagoreans, prostrated himself before that luminary. (Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 220.) [s] Iambl. c. 20. p. 81. [t] Id. ibid.

for the subject of their meditation, some comprehensive principle, or some perspicuous and instructive maxim. Pythagoras, who saw every truth at a glance, and expressed it in a single word, would sometimes say to them: What is the universe? Order. What is friendship? Equality.[u] These sublime definitions, which were at that time new, charmed and elevated the minds of his disciples. The former was received with such approbation, that it was substituted to the ancient names which the Greeks had till then given to the universe.—To the exercises of the mind succeeded those of the body, as running and wrestling, and those less violent contests which might be decided in groves or gardens.[x]

At dinner, bread and honey were served up to them, but rarely wine.[y] Those who aspired to perfection often took only some bread and water.[z] When they rose from table, they employed themselves in the consideration of the affairs which strangers had submitted to their arbitration.[a] Afterwards they again took their walks, by two or three together, and discoursed on the lessons they had received in the morning.[b] From these conversations were strictly banished all slander, invectives, pleasantries, and superfluous words.[c]

When they returned to the house, they went to the bath, and, on coming out of it, were distributed

[u] Iambl. c. 29. p. 138. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 10. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1317. [x] Iambl. c. 21. p. 81. [y] Id. Vit. Pythag. c. 21. p. 82. [z] Alexis. ap. Athen. lib. 4. p. 161. [a] Iambl. ibid. [b] Id. ibid. [c] Id. c. 30. p. 145.

in different rooms, in which tables were spread, each with ten covers. They were served with wine, bread, vegetables, boiled or raw; sometimes portions of animals offered in sacrifice; and sometimes, though but rarely, fish. Their supper which must be ended before the setting of the sun, was preceded by the burning of incense and different perfumes which they offered to the gods.[d]

I had forgotten to tell you that, on certain days of the year, an exquisite and sumptuous repast was served up to them, which, after it had remained for some time before their eyes, they sent untouched to their slaves, rose from table, and even abstained from their ordinary meal.[e]

The supper was followed by libations to the gods; after which the youngest disciple read to the rest, the oldest choosing the subject. The latter, before he dismissed them, reminded them of these important precepts: "Neglect not to honour the gods, the genii, and heroes; to reverence those from whom you have received life or benefits; and to fly to the defence of the violated laws." To inspire them still more with the spirit of mildness and equity, he added: "Beware not to root up the tree or plant which may be useful to man; nor to kill the animal which has done him no injury."[f]

When retired to their apartments, each cited himself before the tribunal of his conscience, and

[d] Iambl. c. 21. p. 83. [e] Diod. Sic. Excerpt. Vales. p. 245. Iambl. c. 31. p. 137. [f] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. c. 21. p. 84.

mentally passed in review, and condemned his faults of commission and omission.[g] After this examination, the constant practice of which would alone be sufficient to correct our defects, they again took their lyres, and sang hymns in honour of the gods. In the morning, when they arose, they had recourse to music, to dissipate the vapours of sleep; and in the evening, to calm the disturbance of the senses.[h] Their death was tranquil. Their bodies, as is still practised, were inclosed in coffins with leaves of myrtle, olive, and poplar,[i] and their funerals were accompanied with ceremonies which it is not permitted us to reveal.[k]

During their whole lives they were animated by two sentiments, or rather by one single sentiment, —an intimate union with the gods, and the most perfect union with men. Their principal obligation was to meditate on the Divinity,[l] to consider themselves as ever in his presence,[m] and to regulate their conduct in all things by his will.[n] Hence that reverence for the Divine Being which permitted them not to pronounce his name in their oaths;[o] that purity of manners which rendered them worthy of his regard;[p] those exhortations they continually in-

[g] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 22. Iambl. cap. 35. p. 206. Aur. Carm. v. 40. Hierocl. ibid. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. page 41. [h] Plut. de Isid. t. i. p. 384. Quintil. de Orat. lib. 9. c. 4. p. 589. Iambl. c. 25. p. 95. [i] Plin. lib. 35. c. 12. t. ii. p. 711. [k] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 586. [l] Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 69. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 686. Aur. Carm. [m] Iambl. c. 16. p. 57. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1313. [n] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. c. 28. p. 115. [o] Id. ibid. p. 126. [p] Id. c. 16. p. 57.

culcated, not to drive away the spirit of God, who resided in their souls;[q] and that ardour with which they applied to divination, the only means remaining to us by which we can discover his will.[r]

Hence also flowed the sentiments which united them to each other and to all mankind.[s] Never was friendship known, never was it felt, as by Pythagoras. He it was who first uttered the finest and most consoling of all sentiments, *My friend is my other self.*[t] In fact, when I am with my friend I am not alone, nor are we two.

As, in physics and morals, he referred every thing to unity, he wished that his disciples might have but one same opinion, one single will.[u] Divested of all property,[x] but free in their engagements; insensible to false ambition, to vain glory,[y] to the contemptible interests which ordinarily divide mankind; they had only to fear the rivalry of virtue, and opposition of character. From the time of their noviciate the greatest efforts concurred to surmount these obstacles. Their union, cemented by the desire of pleasing the Divine Being, to whom they referred all their actions,[z] procured them triumphs without arrogance, and emulation without jealousy.

They learned to forget themselves, and mutually to sacrifice to each other their opinions;[a] not to wound friendship by distrust, by the slightest false-

[q] Iambl. c. 33. p. 193. [r] Id. c. 28. p. 116. [s] Id. c. 33. p. 193. [t] Porph. Vit. Pythag. p. 37. [u] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. c. 33. p. 186. [x] Id. c. 30. p. 143. [y] Id. c. 31. p. 165. [z] Id. c. 33. p. 193. [a] Id. c. 22. p. 85; c. 33. p. 186.

hoods, ill-timed pleasantries, or useless protestations.[b]

They also learned to take the alarm at the approach of the least coolness. When, in the conversations in which they dicussed questions in philosophy, any harsh expression escaped them, they never suffered the sun to go down without giving the hand in token of reconciliation.[c] One of them, on such an occasion, ran to his friend, and said to him: Let us forget our anger, and be you the judge of the difference between us. Most willingly, replied the other; but I ought to blush that, since I am older than you, I was not the first to make this offer.[d]

They learned to subdue those inequalities of temper which weary and discourage friendship.—Did they feel their passions rise, did they foresee a moment of melancholy or disgust, they sought retirement, and calmed this involuntary disorder, either by reflexion,[e] or by melodies suited to the different affections of the soul.[f]

To their education were they indebted for this docility of mind, and those easy and complying manners which united them to each other. During their youth particular care was taken not to sour their disposition. Respectable and indulgent tutors recalled them to their duty by mild corrections, opportunely

[b] Iambl. cap. 30. p. 145; c. 33. p. 187. [c] Plut. de Frat. Amor. t. ii. p. 488. [d] Iambl. cap. 27. p. 107. [e] Id. cap. 31. p. 163. [f] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. cap. 23. Chamæl. ap. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 5. p. 623. Iambl. cap. 25. p. 93; c. 32. p. 181.

and privately administered, and which had more the appearance of exhortation than reproach.[g]

Pythagoras, who reigned over the whole body with the tenderness of a father, but with the authority of a monarch, lived with the members of it as with his friends. He took care of them in sickness, and consoled them under their sufferings;[h] and it was by the kindness with which he treated them, as much as by his understanding and knowledge, that he obtained that ascendancy over their minds that his most trivial expressions were considered by them as oracles, and that they frequently returned no other answer to objections urged against them, than by these words: *He has said it.*[i] By this also he infused into the hearts of his disciples that rare and sublime friendship which has passed into a proverb.[k]

The children of this great family, dispersed through various climates, without having ever seen each other before, made themselves known by certain signs,[l] and became as familiar at the first interview as if they had been acquainted from their birth. So closely were their interests united, that many of them have passed the seas, and risked their fortune to re-establish that of one of their brethren who had fallen to distress or indigence.[m]

I shall here adduce an affecting example of their mutual confidence. One of our society travelling on

[g] Iambl. cap. 22. p. 85. [h] Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. page 37. [i] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 5. t. ii. p. 400. Val. Max. lib. 8. Extern. No. 1. [k] Iambl. c. 33. p. 186. [l] Id. ibid. p. 191. [m] Diod. Sic. Excerpt. Vales p. 243. Iambl. c. 33. p. 192.

foot, lost his way in a desert, and arrived exhausted with fatigue at an inn, where he fell sick —When at the point of death, unable to recompense the care and kindness with which he had been treated, he traced some symbolical marks, with a trembling hand, on a tablet, which he directed to be exposed to view on the public road. A long time after, chance brought to these remote places a disciple of Pythagoras; who, informed by the enigmatical characters he saw before him of the misfortunes of the first traveller, stopped, payed the innkeeper the expense he had been at with interest, and then continued his journey.[n]

Anacharsis. I am not surprised at this. I will tell you what was related to me at Thebes. You knew Lysis.

Samian. He was one of the ornaments of the order. While yet young, he found means to escape from that persecution in which so many illustrious Pythagoreans perished;[o] and repairing to Thebes, undertook the education of Epaminondas.[p]

Anacharsis. He died there. Your philosophers, in Italy, fearing that the rites peculiar to their society had not been observed in his funeral, sent Theanor to Thebes, to obtain his body, and to distribute presents to those who had assisted him in his old age. Theanor, on his arrival, learned that Epaminondas, who had been initiated into your mysteries, had caused him to be buried according to your

[n] Iambl. c. 33. p. 192. [o] Id. c. 35. p. 200. [p] Nep. in Epaminond. c. 2.

statutes, and could not prevail on any person to accept the money he had brought.[q]

Samian. You remind me of an anecdote of this Lysis. One day, coming out of the temple of Juno,[r] he met, under the portico, one of his brethren, Euryphemus of Syracuse; who, having requested him to wait a moment, went to prostrate himself before the statue of the goddess; and, after a long meditation, in which he became absorbed without perceiving it, went out at another door. On the morrow, the day was far advanced when he repaired to the assembly of the disciples, whom he found uneasy at the absence of Lysis. He then remembered the promise he had obtained from him, ran to the temple, and found him in the porch sitting composedly on the same stone on which he had left him the preceding evening.

You will not be astonished at this perseverance when you are acquainted with the spirit of our society. It is rigid, and admits of no relaxation. Far from suffering the least infringement on the severity of its laws, it makes perfection consist in converting counsels into precepts.

Anacharsis. But among those precepts you have some so trivial and frivolous as to degrade the mind: as, for example, not to cross the right leg with the left;[s] not to pare your nails on festival days; nor to make use of cypress wood for your coffins.[t]

[q] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 585. [r] Iambl. c. 30. p. 155.
[s] Plut. de Vitios. Pud. t. ii. p. 532. [t] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 10. Iambl. c. 28. p. 131.

Samian. Do not judge of us from that multitude of observances, the greater part of which were added to our rule by rigorists who wished to reform reformation; though some have relation to truths of a superior order, and all have been prescribed to exercise us in patience and other virtues. The tendency and power of our institution should be estimated by its effects on important occasions. A disciple of Pythagoras suffers neither tears nor complaints to escape him, nor manifests either fear or weakness in dangers. In affairs of interest he descends not to intreaties, because he only asks for justice; nor to flatteries, because he loves only the truth.[u]

Anacharsis. You need say no more on this subject. I know the power which religion and philosophy have over ardent imaginations, when devoted to them; but I know also that we frequently indemnify ourselves for the passions we sacrifice by those which we retain. I have seen and had an opportunity of observing a society whose time is divided between study and prayer, which has renounced without regret the pleasures of sense and the enjoyments of life, and willingly embraced solitude, abstinence, and austerities,[x] because by these means it governs kings and people. I speak of the Egyptian priests, whose institution appears to me perfectly to resemble yours.[y]

Samian. With this difference, that, far from la-

[u] Iambl. c. 32. p. 174; c. 33. p. 188. [x] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 37. [y] Chærem. ap. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 4. p. 308.

bouring to reform the nation, they regard no other interests than that of their own society.

Anacharsis. The same reproach has been thrown on you. Is it not said, that, full of a blind deference for your founder, and a fanatical attachment to your society, you regard the rest of mankind only as a vile herd of animals of an inferior species?[z]

Samian. Is it possible that we should be charged with degrading and contemning mankind, when we consider beneficence as one of the principal means by which we may approach the Divine Being?[a] we who have only laboured to effect a close connection between heaven and earth, between the citizens of the same city, the children of the same family, and between all living beings,[b] of whatever nature they may be!

In Egypt the sacerdotal order aims only at respect and power; it therefore protects despotism, by which it is in its turn protected.[c] Pythagoras loved mankind affectionately, since he wished that they should all be free and virtuous.

Anacharsis. But could he flatter himself that they would desire to become so with the same ardour, and that the least shock would not destroy the authority of the laws and of virtue?

Samian. It was at least a noble act to lay the foundations of that authority; and his first success might induce him to hope that he should be able to

[z] Iambl. cap. 35. p. 208. [a] Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1313.
[b] Iambl. c. 33. p. 185. [c] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 66.

raise it to a certain elevation. I have spoken to you of the revolution which his arrival in Italy immediately produced in manners; and which would have been gradually extended, had not men possessing power, but polluted with crimes, entertained the foolish ambition of being admitted into our society. They were refused, and this refusal occasioned its ruin. Calumny attacked us the moment it saw itself supported.[d] We became odious to the multitude, because we condemned the conferring of the offices of magistracy by way of lot;[e] and to the rich because we recommended that they should be bestowed on merit.[f] Our words were transformed into seditious maxims, and our assemblies into meetings of conspirators.[g] Pythagoras, banished from Croton, could find no asylum even among the people who owed to him their happiness. His death could not extinguish the persecution. Many of his disciples, collected in a house, were devoted to the flames, and almost all perished;[h] the rest having fled, the inhabitants, who were become sensible of their innocence, recalled them some time after; but a war taking place, they signalized their courage in a battle, and terminated an innocent life in a glorious death.[i]

Though after these calamitous events the body of the society was threatened with an approaching dissolution, they continued during some time to

[d] Iambl. cap. 35. p. 210. [e] Id. Vit. Pythag. c. 35. p. 209. [f] Id. ibid. p. 204. [g] Justin. lib. 20. c. 4. [h] Id. ibid. Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 583. [i] Iambl. c. 35. p. 212.

name a head for its government.[k] Diodorus, one of the last of these, was an enemy to that cleanliness and neatness which Pythagoras had so strongly recommended to us; and affected more rigid manners, a more negligent exterior, and a coarser habit.[l]—He had adherents, and a distinction was made in the society between those of the old and those of the new rule.

At present reduced to a small number, separated from each other, and exciting neither envy nor pity, we practise in secret the precepts of our founder. Judge of the influence they had in the origin of our institution by that which they still retain; for we educated Epaminondas, and Phocion formed himself on the examples of our philosophers.

It is not necessary that I should remind you that this society has produced a multitude of legislators, geometricians, astronomers, naturalists, and celebrated men of every class;[m] that it is that which has enlightened Greece; and that the modern philosophers have derived from our authors the greater part of the discoveries which give a lustre to their works.

The glory of Pythagoras has increased: every where he has obtained a distinguished rank among the sages:[n] In some cities of Italy divine honours have been decreed him;[o] they were even paid to

[k] Iambl. c. 36. p. 213. [l] Herm. Tim. et Socier. ap. Athen. lib. 4. p. 163. [m] Iambl. c. 29. p. 132; c. 36. p. 215. Bruck. Hist. Philos. t. i. p. 1101. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. i. p. 490. [n] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 95. [o] Justin. lib. 20. c. 4.

him during his life;[p] at which you will not be surprised, if you observe in what manner nations, and even philosophers, speak of the legislators and preceptors of the human race. They consider them not as men, but as gods,[q] as souls of a superior order, who, having descended from heaven into the Tartarus which we inhabit, have deigned to take on them a human body, and participate in the evils we suffer, to institute among us laws and philosophy.[r]

Anacharsis. It must nevertheless be confessed that the endeavours of these beneficent genii have succeeded but imperfectly; and since they have not been able universally to extend or perpetuate their reformation, I conclude that men will always be equally unjust and vicious.

Samian. At least, as Socrates has said, until heaven shall more clearly explain itself to us; and God, compassionating our ignorance, shall send some messenger to deliver to us his word, and reveal his will.[s]

The next day after this conversation we set out for Athens, and, some months after, repaired to the festivals of Delos.

[p] Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 28. Iambl. c. 6. p. 23; cap. 28. p. 118, 120. Dio Chrysost. Orat. 17. p. 524. Philostr. Vit. Apollon. c. 1. p. 2. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 11. [q] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 355. [r] Plat. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 355. [s] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i. p. 31. Id. in Phæd. t. i. p. 85. E. Id. in Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 150.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

*Delos and the Cyclades.**

In the happy climate in which I reside, the spring is like the morning of a beautiful day. We there enjoy the blessings which it brings, and those which it promises. The rays of the sun are no longer obscured by gross vapours, nor are they yet irritated by the ardent aspect of the dog-star. They dispense a pure and steady light, which mildly reposes on all objects, and resembles that with which the gods are surrounded on Olympus.

When the luminary of day first appears in the horizon, the trees agitate the newly unfolded leaves, the banks of the Ilissus resound with the song of birds, and the echoes of Mount Hymettus with the music of the rustic reed; and when again he hastens to his bed, the heavens are covered with a sparkling veil, and the nymphs of Attica essay with timid feet light dances on the turf. But soon he once more returns, and we neither regret the coolness of the night, which flies his approach, nor the splendour of the preceding day; it seems as if a new sun arose on a new universe, and brought from the east colours unknown to mortals. Each instant adds a new charm

* See the Map of Delos and the Cyclades.

to the beauties of nature, and every moment the great work of the developement of beings advances towards its perfection.

O resplendent days! O delicious nights! what an emotion did that succession of scenes which you presented to all my senses excite in my soul! O God of pleasures! O spring! I have this year beheld thee in all thy glory. You traversed as a conqueror the fields of Greece, and scattered from your head the flowers which were to embellish them.—You appeared in the valleys, and they were changed into smiling meads; you were seen on the mountains, and the serpyllum and thyme exhaled a thousand perfumes. You rose into the air and diffused all around the serenity of your smile. The loves eagerly hastened to you at your call, and cast on every side their flaming darts, enkindling the whole earth. All things revived to receive new embellishments, and were embellished to give new pleasure. Such appeared the world when it emerged from chaos, in those happy moments in which man, charmed with his abode, and astonished and delighted at his existence, seemed only to possess understanding that he might know, a heart that he might desire, and a soul that he might feel his happiness.

This charming season brought with it festivals still more charming:[t] I mean those which are celebrated every four years at Delos, in honour of Diana

[t] Dionys. Perieg. v. 528. ap. Geograph. Min. t. iv. p. 100. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxvi. p. 211.

and Apollo.[u]* The worship of these two divinities has subsisted in that island for a long succession of ages. But as it latterly began to decline, the Athenians instituted, during the Peloponnesian war,[x] games which drew thither a great concourse of people from various nations. The youth of Athens were eager to distinguish themselves in these, and the whole city was in motion. Preparations were likewise made for the solemn deputation which is annually sent to the temple of Delos, to present a tribute of gratitude for the victory which Theseus gained over the Minotaur. The voyage is made in the same ship which carried that hero to Crete; and already the priest of Apollo had crowned its stern with his sacred hands.[y] I went down to the Piræus with Philotas and Lysis. The sea was covered with small vessels, which were getting under sail for Delos. We had not the liberty of choice, but were hurried away by the sailors, whose lively and tumultuous joy was mingled with that of the immense crowds of people who thronged to the beach. We were under weigh in a moment, got out of the harbour, and arrived in the evening at the isle of Ceos.[z]

[u] Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. ii. p. 326. * On the sixth of the Attic month Thargelion, the birth of Diana was celebrated; and on the seventh that of Apollo. In the third year of the 109th Olympiad, or the year 341 before Christ, the month of Thargelion began on the 2d of May; and thus the 6th and 7th of Thargelion corresponded with the 8th and 9th of May.
[x] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 104. [y] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 58. Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 9. [z] Æschin. epist. 1. in Demosth. Oper. p. 205.

On the next day we coasted Scyros, and leaving Tenos on the left, entered into the channel which separates Delos from the island of Rhenea. We immediately came in sight of the temple of Apollo, which we saluted with new transports of joy; and the city of Delos was almost entirely displayed to our view. With an eager eye we ran over the superb edifices, elegant porticos, and forests of columns by which it is embellished; and this prospect, momentarily varying, suspended in us the desire to arrive at the land.

When we had reached the shore, we ran to the temple, which is distant from it only about a hundred paces.[a] It is more than a thousand years since Erisichthon, son of Cecrops, laid the first foundation of this edifice,[b] to which the different states of Greece continually add new embellishments. It was covered with festoons and garlands, which, by the contrast of their colours, gave a new lustre to the Parian marble of which it is built.[c] Within we saw the statue of Apollo, less celebrated for the delicacy of the workmanship than its antiquity.[d] The god is represented holding his bow in one hand; and, to signify that music owes to him its origin and charms, with his left he supports the three Graces, who are represented, the first with a lyre, the second with flutes, and the third with a pipe.

Near the statue is that altar which is esteemed

[a] Tournef. Voyag. tom. i. p. 300. [b] Euseb. Chron. lib. 2. p. 76. [c] Span. Voyag. t. i. p. 111. [d] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1136.

one of the wonders of the world.[e] It is not gold or marble which is admired in it; horns of animals, forcibly bent, and artfully interwoven, form a whole equally solid and regular. Some priests, whose employment it is to adorn it with flowers and boughs,[f] made us observe the ingenious contexture of its parts. It was the god himself, exclaimed a young priest, who in his childhood interwove them as you see. These menacing horns, which you behold suspended on the wall, and those of which the altar is composed, are the spoils of the wild goats which fed on Mount Cynthus, and which fell beneath the shafts of Diana.[g] Here the eye meets nothing but prodigies. This palm-tree, which displays its branches over our heads, is the sacred tree that supported Latona when she brought forth the divinities we adore.[h] The form of this altar has become celebrated by a problem in geometry, of which an exact solution will perhaps never be given. The plague laid waste our island, and Greece was ravaged by war. The oracle, being consulted by our ancestors, declared that these calamities would cease if they could make this altar double the size it is of at present.[i] They

[e] Id. de Solert. Animal. t. ii. p. 983. Alert. epig. 1. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 13. [f] Spanh. in Callim. t. ii. p. 97. [g] Callim. Hymn. in Apoll. v. 60. [h] Homer. in Odyss. lib. 6. v. 162. Callim. in Del. v. 208. Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 489. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 1. t. iii. p. 115. Plin. lib. 16. c. 44. t. ii. p. 40. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 23. p. 643. [i] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 579. Id. de E. Delph. p. 386. Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 12. Extern. No. 1. Montucla, Hist. des Mathem. t. i. p. 186.

imagined it would be sufficient to make it twice as large every way; but they found, with surprise, that they were constructing an enormous mass, that would contain the altar in question eight times. After other attempts equally fruitless, they seem to consult Plato, then just returned from Egypt; who told their messengers that the god, by this oracle, sported with the ignorance of the Greeks, and exhorted them to cultivate the accurate sciences, rather than to be continually occupied in dissensions and wars. At the same time he proposed a simple and mechanical method of resolving the problem: but the plague had ceased when his answer arrived. This, said Philotas to me, was probably what the oracle had foreseen.

These words, though pronounced in a low voice, engaged the attention of a citizen of Delos, who approached us, and, showing us an altar less embellished than the former, This, said he, is never drenched with the blood of victims: on this the devouring flame is never kindled. Hither Pythagoras came to offer, after the example of the people, cakes, barley, and wheat;[k] and beyond all doubt the god was better pleased with the enlightened worship of that great man than with all those streams of blood with which our altars are perpetually inundated.

He afterwards pointed out to us whatever was worthy our remark within the temple. We listened to him with respect; we admired the wisdom of his

[k] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 7. p. 848. Porphyr. de Abstinent. lib. 2. § 28. p. 153. Not. ibid.

discourse, the mildness of his aspect, and the kind attention which he paid to us. But what was our surprise when mutual explanations discovered to us Philocles! He was one of the principal inhabitants of Delos for his riches and his dignities; he was the father of Ismene, whose beauty was the subject of conversation among all the women of Greece; and it was him to whose hospitality we had been recommended by letters from Athens. After having repeatedly embraced us, Hasten, said he, to salute my household gods; come and see Ismene, and you shall be witness to her marriage, and partake in the joy of Leucippe her happy mother. They will not receive you as strangers, but as friends, whom Heaven has long destined to visit them. Yes, I swear to you, added he, grasping our hands, all those who love virtue have legitimate claims to the friendship of Philocles and his family.

We came out of the temple: his friendly impatience would scarcely permit us to take a view of that multitude of statues and altars by which it is surrounded. In the midst of these stands a figure of Apollo, about twenty-four feet high.[l] Long tresses of hair float on his shoulders; and his robe, which is folded on his left arm, seems to obey the breath of the zephyr. The statute and the plinth on which it stands are of a single block of marble: it was dedicated by the inhabitants of Naxos.[m] Near this colossus, Nicias, general of the Athenians, caused

[l] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 301. Wheler's Journey, book i. p. 56. Spon. Voyag. t. i. p. 107. [m] Tournef. ibid. p. 301.

to be placed a palm-tree of bronze,[n] the workmanship of which is equally precious with the materials. Farther on we read, on several statues, this pompous inscription: "The island of Chios is famous for its excellent wines: it will hereafter be so for the works of Bupalus and Anthermus." These two artists lived about two centuries since; they have been succeeded and eclipsed by the Phidiases and Praxiteles; and thus, while they sought to eternise their glory, they have only perpetuated their vanity.

The city of Delos has neither towers nor walls, and is only defended by the presence of Apollo.[p] The houses are built of brick, or a kind of granite very common in the island.[q] That of Philocles stood on the banks of a lake,[r] covered with swans,[s] and almost surrounded by palm-trees.

Leucippe, informed of the return of her husband, came out to meet him, and we took her for Ismene; but soon after Ismene appeared, and we imagined we beheld the goddess of love. Philocles exhorted us mutually to banish all constraint; and from that moment we experienced at once all the surprise of a new connection, and all the enjoyments of an ancient friendship.

Opulence shone conspicuous in the house of

[n] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 525. [o] Plin. lib. 36. c. 5. t. ii. [p] Callim. in Del. v. 24. Cicer. Orat. pro Leg. Manil. cap. 18. t. v. p. 20. [q] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 305. [r] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 171. Callim. in Apoll. v. 59; in Del. v. 261. Theogn. Sent. v. 7. Spon. Voyag. t. i. p. 106. [s] Euripid. in Ion. v. 167; in Iphig. in Taur. v. 1103. Aristoph. in Av. v. 870.

Philocles; but prudence had so well regulated the use of his wealth, that it seemed to have granted every thing to utility and convenience, but nothing to caprice. Slaves happy in their servitude anticipated our wishes. Some poured on our hands and feet water purer than crystal; and others loaded with fruits a table placed in the garden,[t] in the midst of a grove of myrtles. We began by libations in honour of the gods who preside over hospitality. Several questions were put to us relative to our travels; and Philocles more than once seemed sensibly affected at the remembrance of his friends whom he had left on the continent of Greece. After some moments passed in delightful conversation, we went out with him to see the preparations for the festivals.[s]

These were to commence on the following day;* and on the day after, the birth of Diana was to be commemorated at Delos.[u] Strangers were continually arriving in the island, brought thither by piety, interest, or pleasure. They already could find no room in the houses, and tents were erected in the public places, and some even in the fields. Friends met with and embraced each other after a long absence; and these affecting scenes attracted us to the different parts of the island; and, no less attentive to the objects we beheld than to the discourse of Philocles, we informed ourselves of the nature and

[t] Theod. Prodr. in Rhod. et Dosicl. Amor. lib. 2. p. 57.
* The 8th day of May, of the year 341 before Christ. [u] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 44.

particularities of a country so famous throughout Greece.

The island of Delos is only seven or eight miles in circuit, and its breadth is but about one third of its length.[x] Mount Cynthus, which extends from north to south, terminates in a plain that on the west side reaches to the sea. The city stands in this plain.[y] The rest of the island presents only an uneven and sterile soil, if we except some pleasant valleys, which are formed by several hills, on the south side.[z] The source of the Inopus is the only spring with which it is favoured by nature; but we find, in different places, cisterns and lakes, which preserve the rain-water during several months.

Delos was originally governed by kings, who united the priesthood to the regal authority.[a] It afterwards fell under the power of the Athenians, who purified it during the Peloponnesian war.[b] The tombs of its ancient inhabitants were removed to the isle of Rhenea; and there their successors have seen for the first time the light of day, and there are they to behold it for the last. But if they are deprived of the advantage of being born and dying in their country,[c] they enjoy there a profound tranquillity during their lives. The fury of Barbarians,[d] the

[x] Tournef. Voyag. p. 287, 288. [y] Strab. lib. 10. p. 485. [z] Eurip. Iph. in Taur. v. 1235. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 311. [a] Virg. Æneid. lib. 3. v. 80. Ovid. Metam. lib. 13. v. 632. Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Roman. lib. 1. c. 50. t. i. p. 632. [b] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 104. [c] Æschin. Epist. ad. Philocr. p. 205. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 230. [d] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 97.

enmity of nations,[e] and the animosities of individuals, all subside at the view of this sacred land; nor ever have the coursers of Mars trodden it with their ensanguined feet.[f]—Every thing that can present the image of war is rigorously banished; and even the animal most faithful to man is not suffered to remain in it, because he would destroy the weaker and more timid creatures.* In fine, Peace has chosen Delos for her abode, and the house of Philocles for her palace.

We were approaching the latter, when we saw a youth coming to meet us, whose air, stature, and features, seemed to bespeak him more than mortal. This, said Philocles to us, is Theagenes, whom my daughter has chosen for her husband; and Leucippe has just fixed the day of their marriage.—O my father! replied Theagenes, eagerly embracing him, my gratitude increases every moment. Let these generous strangers deign to partake it with me. They are my friends, since they are yours: and I feel that excess of joy has need of support as well as excess of grief. You will pardon this transport, added he, turning to us, if you have ever loved; and if you have not, you will pardon it when you shall behold Ismene. The attention we shewed him seemed to calm the agitation of his feelings, and to relieve him under the weight of his happiness.

Philocles was received by Leucippe and Ismene

[e] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 23. p. 269. Liv. lib. 44. c. 29. [f] Callim. in Del. v. 277. * It was not permitted to keep dogs at Delos (Strab. lib. 10. p. 486), lest they should kill the hares and rabbits.

as Hector was by Andromache every time he re-entered within the walls of Troy. Supper was served up in a gallery adorned with pictures and statues; and our hearts, expanded to the purest joy, tasted all the charms of confidence and liberty.

In the mean time Philocles put a lyre in the hands of Ismene, and requested her to sing one of those hymns which celebrate the birth of Apollo and Diana. Express by your song, said he, what the damsels of Delos will to-morrow represent in the temple by their agile steps. Anacharsis and Philotas will thus become better acquainted with the origin of our festivals, and the nature of the spectacle which will be presented to their view.

Ismene took the lyre, touched, as if by accident, some tender and moving notes, which escaped not Theagenes, and, suddenly preluding with rapidity in the Dorian mode, painted with strokes of fire the implacable anger of Juno against an odious rival.[8] "In vain does Latona seek to escape her vengeance; she has had the misfortune to please Jupiter, and the fruit of her love must become the instrument of her punishment, and perish with her. Juno appeared in the heavens, Mars on Mount Hæmus in Thrace, Iris on a mountain near the sea; they terrified by their presence the air, the earth, and the islands. Trembling, lost, urged by the pains of child-bearing, Latona, after long wanderings, arrives in Thessaly, on the banks of the river by which that country is

[8] Callim. in Del. v. 40.

watered. O Peneus! she cries, receive in thy peaceful waters the children of Jupiter, which I bear in my womb. O nymphs of Thessaly, daughters of the god whose succour I implore! join with me to prevail on him to grant my request. But he hears me not; and my prayers only incite him to hasten his speed. O Pelion! O ye fearful mountains! you therefore are my only resource: will you refuse me in your gloomy caverns the refuge which you afford to the lioness in travail?

"At these words the Peneus, moved to compassion, arrests the course of his foaming waters. Mars beheld him; and, transported with rage, was on the point of burying the river beneath the smoking fragments of Mount Pangæus; he uttered a loud cry, and struck his spear against his buckler. The sound, like the shout of an army, shook the plains of Thessaly and Mount Ossa, and re-echoed in long murmurs through the deep caverns of Pindus. Peneus had been no more, had not Latona abandoned the places on which her presence had drawn the anger of heaven. She came to our island, to solicit the assistance they had refused her; but the menaces of Iris filled her with terror.

"Delos alone was less moved with fear than with pity. Delos was then only a sterile and desert rock, driven at the pleasure of the winds and waves, which had thrown her into the midst of the Cyclades, when she heard the plaintive accents of Latona, and offered her an asylum on the wild banks of the Inopus. The goddess, transported with gratitude, sinks at the foot

of a tree which offers her its shade, and which for this benefaction will enjoy an eternal spring. There, exhausted with fatigue, and attacked by the most cruel pains, she opens her almost extinguished eyes, in which joy shines in the midst of the expressions of grief and suffering; and at length fixes them on the precious pledges of her love, on the children whose birth had cost her so many tears. The nymphs of the Inopus, witnesses to her transports, announce them to the world by sacred songs; and Delos is no longer the sport of the inconstant waves, but remains fixed on the columns which rise from the bottom of the sea,[h] and which rest on the foundations of the earth. Her glory is universally celebrated; and from every side nations hasten to her festivals, to implore the god who owes to her his birth, and who renders her happy by his presence."

Ismene accompanied these words with a tender glance directed to Theagenes, and we began to breathe more freely; but our souls were still agitated by the shocks of terror and pity. Never had the lyre of Orpheus, nor the voice of the Sirens, produced sounds so moving. While Ismene sang, I and Philotas repeatedly interrupted her by exclamations of admiration: Philocles and Leucippe lavished on her marks of tenderness that delighted her still more than our praises; Theagenes listened and was silent.

At length the day arrived which had been expected with so much impatience. The morning faintly in-

[h] Pind. ap. Strab. lib. 10. p. 485.

dicated in the horizon the course of the sun, when we arrived at the foot of Cynthus. This mountain is but a moderate height.[i] It is a block of granite, of different colours, and containing pieces of a blackish and shining talc. From its top a surprising number of islands of various sizes are discoverable. They are dispersed in the midst of the ocean, in the same beautiful disorder as the stars are scattered in the heavens. The eye runs over them with avidity, and seeks them again after having lost them. Sometimes it wanders with pleasure in the channels which separate them from each other, and sometimes slowly measures the lakes and liquid plains which they embrace: for we do not here view one of those boundless seas where the imagination is no less overwhelmed than astonished by the grandeur of the scene; and where the disquieted mind, seeking repose on all sides, only finds every where one vast solitude which fills it with melancholy, and one immense space by which it is confounded. Here the bosom of the waves is become the habitation of mortals. We behold a city scattered over the surface of the sea; and view the picture of Egypt when the Nile has inundated the plains, and appears to bear on its waters the hills which afford a retreat to the inhabitants.[k]

The greater part of these islands, said Philocles, are named Cyclades,* because they form a kind of

[i] Tournef. Voyag. tom. i. p. 307. Spon. Voyag. t. i. p. 111. Wheler's Journ. book 1. page 58. [k] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 97. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 33. * *Cycle* in Greek signifies *circle*.

circle round Delos.[l] Sesostris, king of Egypt, subjected a part of them by his arms:[m] and Minos, king of Crete, governed some of them by his laws.[n] The Phœnicians,[o] the Carians,[p] the Persians, the Greeks,[q] and all the nations which have possessed the empire of the sea, have successively conquered or colonised them: but the colonies of the latter have effaced all traces of those of other nations; and powerful interests have for ever attached the destiny of the Cyclades to that of Greece.

Some of them were at first governed by kings which they had themselves chosen; and others had received them from their conquerors:[r] but the love of liberty, which is natural to the Greeks, and still more natural to islanders, destroyed the yoke under which they had groaned. All these states became small republics, jealous of each other, and mutually endeavouring to preserve a balance between their respective powers, by the alliances and protection which they solicited on the continent. They enjoyed that happy calm which nations can only derive from their obscurity, when Asia invaded Europe, and the Persians covered the sea with their ships. The islands, seized with consternation, were enfeebled by their divisions. Some meanly joined the enemy, but others had the courage to resist. After the defeat of the Persians, the Athenians formed the project of

[l] Plin. lib. 4. c. 12. t. i. p. 211. [m] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 51. [n] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 4. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 349. [o] Boch. Geograph. p. 405. [p] Thucyd. ibid. Diod. Sic. ibid. [q] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 46, 48. Thucyd. passim. [r] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 64. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 345.

conquering them all. They imputed to them, as almost equal crimes, their having assisted or having deserted them: and successively subjected them, under pretexts more or less plausible.

Athens gave them her laws, and exacted from them taxes proportionable to their abilities. Under the protection of her power, they behold commerce, agriculture, and the arts, flourish; and would be happy could they forget they once were free.

They are not all equally fertile: there are some which are scarcely able to supply the wants of their inhabitants; as, for instance, Mycone, which you see to the east of Delos, whence it is distant only twenty-four stadia.[s]* We there see no streams rush from the summits of the mountains and fertilise the plains.[t] The earth, abandoned to the burning rays of the sun, incessantly sighs for the succours of heaven: and it is only by the most laborious efforts that wheat, and other grain necessary for the subsistence of the husbandman are produced. All the powers of the soil seem to be exhausted in favour of vines and fig-trees; the fruits of which, of the growth of this island, are in great request.[u] Partridges, quails, and several birds of passage, are found there in abundance:[x] but these advantages, which are common to this and the neighbouring islands, are but a feeble resource for the inhabitants: who, besides the

[s] Tournef. t. i. p. 278. * 2268 toises (somewhat above two miles and a half). [t] Spon. t. i. p. 115. Wheler's Journey, book 1. p. 65. [u] Tournef. t. i. p. 281. [x] Id. ibid. Spon. Voyag. t. i. p. 115. Wheeler, book 1. p. 65.

sterility of the country, have also to complain of the rigour of the climate. Their heads are early deprived of their natural ornament:[y] and those floating tresses which add so many graces to beauty, seem only to be granted to their youth, that their loss may be soon regretted.

The Myconians are reproached with being avaricious and parasites:[z] they would be less censured, if, in more favourable circumstances, they were prodigal and arrogant; for the greatest misfortune of indigence is, to give birth to vices, but not to be able to procure a pardon for them.

Rhenea, which you see to the west, is distant from us about five hundred paces;[a] it is less, but more fertile than Mycone, and distinguished for the riches of its hills and plains. A chain which seemed to unite the two islands was formerly stretched across the channel by which they are separated. This was the work of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos,[b] who imagined that he should thus be able to communicate to the one the sanctity of the other.* But the isle of Rhenea has more legitimate claims to our veneration; it contains the ashes of our fathers, and will

[y] Plin. lib. 11. cap. 37. t. i. p. 615. Strab. lib. 10. p. 487. Tournef. p. 280. [z] Athen. lib. 1. c. 7. p. 7. Suid. in Μυκώνι.
[a] Tournef. p. 315. [b] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 13; lib. 3. c. 104.
* About the same time Crœsus besieged the city of Ephesus, the inhabitants of which, to obtain the protection of Diana, their principal divinity, fastened one end of a cord to their walls, and the other to the temple of Diana, distant from them 7 stadia, or 661 toises and a half (6 furlongs 90 yards). Herodot. lib. 1. c. 26. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 6. c. 50. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. c. 26.

one day contain ours. To that eminence directly opposite us have been conveyed the tombs which were formerly at Delos.[c] Their number is continually increasing; and they may be considered as so many trophies which death erects to record his triumphs over mortals.

Turn your eyes towards the north-west, and you will discover the coasts of the island of Tenos. Without the walls of the capital is one of those venerable groves, the duration of which is secured by religion, and to which a long succession of winters have been able to do no injury.[d] Its gloomy alleys are the avenues to a superb temple, which, in obedience to the oracle of Apollo, the inhabitants formerly erected to Neptune. It is one of the most ancient sacred asylums in Greece;[e] and is surrounded by several spacious edifices, where the public repasts are given, and in which the people assemble during the festivals of the god,[f] who receives the praises of his votaries for dispelling the maladies by which mortals are afflicted,[g] and for having destroyed the serpents which formerly rendered this island uninhabitable.[h]

The people who first cultivated Tenos created a new soil; a soil which satisfies, or even anticipates, the wishes of the labourer. It produces the most exquisite fruits, and grain of every kind. On all

[c] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 104. Strab. lib. 10. p. 486. Tournef. p. 316. [d] Strab. lib. 10. p. 487. [e] Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. No. 63. [f] Strab. lib. 10. p. 487. [g] Philocr. ap. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 26. [h] Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. i. p. 211 Steph. Byzant. in Τῆνος. Hesych. Miles.

sides a thousand fountains gush forth ;[i] and the plains that are enriched by the tribute of their waters appear to be embellished with new beauties, from the contrast of the arid and desert mountains by which they are surrounded.[k]

Tenos is separated from Andros by a channel twelve stadia in breadth.[l]* In the latter island we find mountains covered with verdure, springs more abundant than at Tenos ; valleys as delightful as those of Thessaly ; fruits equally beautiful to the eye, and delicious to the taste ;[m] and a city renowned for the difficulty the Athenians found in conquering it, and the worship of Bacchus, the deity who there principally receives adoration. I have been a witness to the transports of joy which his festivals inspire.[n] I beheld them at an age when the soul receives impressions which the memory never recals but with sensations of pleasure. I was on board a vessel returning from Eubœa, and admiring with delight the glowing radiance of the new-born day, when loud shouts of joy drew our eyes towards the isle of Andros. The first rays of the sun had gilded an eminence on which stood a beautiful temple. The people thronged together on all sides, crowded round the temple, raised their hands to heaven, prostrated themselves on the earth, and gave a loose to the

[i] Tournef. t. i. p. 357. Plin. ibid. Steph. Byzant. in Τῆνος. Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg. v. 526. [k] Tournef. ibid. [l] Scylax. ap. Geograph. Min. t. i. p. 55. Tournef. p. 355. * Nearly half a league. [m] Tournef. p. 348. [n] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 26. p. 518. Philostr. Icon. lib. 1. c. 25. p. 799.

most extravagant expressions of joy. We landed, and were hurried by the multitude to the top of a hill, where a thousand voices exclaimed at once: Come, see, taste: these streams of wine which rush from the temple of Bacchus, were yesterday, last night, this morning, only pure water. Bacchus is the author of this prodigy, which he renews every year, on the same day, and at the same hour. He will repeat it to-morrow, the day following, and during seven successive days.[o] To these exclamations presently succeeded a mild and pleasing harmony. "The Achelous," it was said, "is celebrated for his reeds, the Peneus derives all his glory from the valley which he waters, and the Pactolus from the flowers with which his banks are embellished; but the fountain which we sing renders men strong and eloquent, and flows at the immediate command of Bacchus." [p]

While the priests of the temple, who were well acquainted with the subterranean passage through which the waters flowed, thus imposed on the credulity of the multitude, I was tempted to congratulate them on the success of their artifice. They deceived the people, but they rendered them happy.

At an almost equal distance from Andros and Ceos we find the little island of Gyaros, fitted to be the place of banishment for robbers and banditti, should they be driven from the rest of the earth.[q]

[o] Plin. lib. 2. c. 103. t. i. p. 121; lib. 31. c. 2. t. ii. p. 549
[p] Philostr. Icon. lib. 1. c. 25. p. 799. [q] Juven. sat. 1. v. 73.

It is a wild and rocky country.[r] Nature has refused it every thing, as she seems to have lavished all she can bestow on the isle of Ceos.

The shepherds of Ceos render divine honours, and consecrate their flocks, to the shepherd Aristæus,[s] who first led a colony to this island. They say that he sometimes returns to enjoy their tranquil groves, from the inmost recesses of which he watches over their snow-white bulls.

The priests of Ceos annually repair to a high mountain, to observe the rising of the dog-star;[t] or offer sacrifices to that star, and to Jupiter; and to solicit the return of those beneficial winds which, during forty days, blunt the ardent rays of the sun, and diffuse a delicious coolness through the air.

The inhabitants of Ceos have erected a temple in honour of Apollo;[u] and preserve with veneration that which Nestor, on his return from Troy, caused to be built to Minerva.[x] They have joined the worship of Bacchus to that of these divinities.[y] So many religious acts seem to have secured to them the favour of the gods. The island abounds in fruits and pasturage.[z] The people possess strength of body and vigour of mind; and are so numerous that they have found it necessary to distribute themselves in

[r] Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. cap. 69. Juven. sat. 10. v. 170. [s] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. t. 1. p. 325; edit. Wessel. Virg. Geogr. lib. 1. v. 14. [t] Heracl. Pont. ap. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 57. t. iii. p. 47. Apoll. Argon. v. 535. [u] Strab. lib. 10. p. 487. [x] Id. ibid. [y] Athen. lib. 10. c. 22. p. 456. [z] Virg. Geogr. lib. 1. v. 14.

four cities,[a] of which Ioulis is the principal. It is situated on an eminence, and derives its name from a spring which flows at the foot of the hill.[b] Caressus, which is distant from it twenty-five stadia,* serves it as a harbour, and enriches it with its commerce.

Ioulis would furnish instances of persons attaining to a great old age,[c] did not custom, or the laws, permit suicide to those who, having arrived at the age of sixty years, are no longer in condition to enjoy life, or rather to serve the republic.[d] They say that it is shameful to survive ourselves, to usurp on the earth a place we can no longer properly fill, and to appropriate to our own enjoyment that existence which we have only received for the use of our country. The day which is to terminate their life is to them a festival: they gird their brows with a chaplet; and, taking a cup of the juice of hemlock or poppies, sink insensibly into an eternal sleep.

Such courage cannot but be capable of effecting every thing to preserve liberty. On a certain occasion, when besieged by the Athenians, and on the point of surrendering for want of provisions, they threatened the besiegers that, unless they retired, they would massacre all the most aged citizens in the place.[e] Moved either by horror, compassion, or fear, the Athenians departed, and left, without further

[a] Strab. lib. 10. p. 486. [b] Steph. in Ιουλ. Tournef. p. 332.
* Nearly a league. [c] Heraclid. Pont. de Polit. [d] Strab. lib. 10. p. 486. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 37. Steph. ibid. Val. Max. lib. 2. c. 6. No. 8. [e] Strab. ibid.

molestation, a people who equally braved both nature and death. They have since subjected them, and softened the harshness of their character by servitude and the arts. The city is adorned with superb edifices; its walls are composed of enormous blocks of marble, and access to it is facilitated by roads made over the neighbouring eminences.[f] But it is rendered more illustrious by having produced many celebrated men; and, among others, Simonides, Bacchylides, and Prodicus.[g]

Simonides,[h] the son of Leoprepis, was born about the 3d year of the 55th Olympiad.* He merited the esteem of the kings, sages, and great men of his time. Among the number of these was Hipparchus, whom Athens would have adored, could Athens have endured a master;[i] Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon, who, by his success against the Persians, had been raised to the summit of honour and pride;[k] Alevas king of Thessaly, who had eclipsed the glory of his predecessors, and increased that of his country;[l] Hiero, who was first the tyrant, and afterwards the father of Syracuse;[m] and, lastly, Themistocles, who was not a king, but who had triumphed over the most powerful of kings.[n]

[f] Tournef. p. 332, 333. [g] Strab. lib. 10. p. 486. [h] Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. i. p. 591. Bayle, Dict. Art. Sim. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiii. p. 250. * The year 558 before Christ. [i] Plat. in Hipp. t. ii. p. 228. [k] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. c. 41. [l] Theocr. Idyll. 16. v. 44. Plat. de Fratern. Amor. tom. ii. page 492. Sozom. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. p. 322. [m] Xen. in Hieron. page 901. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 15. [n] Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 114.

According to a custom which still continues, sovereigns then invited to their courts such persons as were distinguished for their knowledge or genius. Sometimes they caused them to enter into competition with each other, and required from them those sallies of wit which shine more than they enlighten. At other times they consulted them on the mysteries of nature, the principles of morals, or the forms of government; and it was expected that, to the questions propounded to them, they should return perspicuous, prompt, and precise answers, because they were to instruct a prince, please his courtiers, and confound their rivals. The greater part of these answers are current through all Greece, and have descended to posterity; which is no longer able to estimate their just value, because they contain allusions now not understood, or truths too generally known. Among those which are preserved of Simonides, there are some which particular circumstances have rendered celebrated.

One day, at an entertainment,[o] the king of Lacedæmon had requested him to confirm, by some important and comprehensive maxim, the high opinion he had conceived of his philosophy. Simonides, who was acquainted with the ambitious projects of that prince, and foresaw their fatal issue, said to him—"Remember that you are a man." Pausanias saw nothing in this answer but a frivolous or trite observation; but, in the disgrace into which he soon

[o] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. c. 41.

after fell, he discovered in it a novel truth, and one of the most important of those of which kings are ignorant.

On another occasion,[p] the queen of Syracuse asked him whether knowledge were preferable to riches. This was a snare for Simonides, who was only honoured for the former of these advantages, but who only sought the latter. Obliged to falsify his sentiments, or condemn his conduct, he had recourse to irony; and gave the preference to riches, because philosophers continually besieged the mansions of the rich. This problem has since been resolved in a manner more honourable to philosophy. Aristippus, being asked by king Dionysius why the sage paid his court with so much assiduity to the rich man, who never acted in the same manner towards the sage,[q]—The wise man, replied he, knows his wants, but the other does not know his.

Simonides was both a poet and a philosopher.[r] The happy union of these qualities rendered his talents more useful, and his wisdom more agreeable. His style, which is remarkable for its sweetness, is simple, harmonious, and admirable for the choice and arrangement of the words.[s] He sang the praises of the gods, the victories of the Greeks over the Persians, and the triumphs of the athletæ in the games. He wrote the history of the reigns of Cambyses and Darius in verse; exercised his genius in

[p] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 2. c. 16. t. ii. p. 586. [q] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 69. [r] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 331. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 22. t. ii. p. 415. [s] Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 631. Dionys. Halic. de Veter. Script. Cens. t. v. p. 420.

almost every kind of poetry; and principally succeeded in elegies and plaintive songs[t] No person was ever better acquainted with the sublime and delightful art of interesting and moving the passions; nor did ever any one paint with greater exactness those situations and misfortunes which excite pity.[u] It is not the poet to whom we are attentive; we hear the cries and groans of a distracted family, which weeps the death of a father or a son;[x] we behold Danaë; we see an affectionate mother struggling with her son against the fury of the waves, while a thousand gulfs yawn on all sides, and menace her with a thousand deaths;[y] the shade of Achilles rises from the bottom of the tomb, and announces to the Greeks, about to quit the shores of Ilium, the innumerable calamities which await them by sea and land.[z]

These poetical scenes, which Simonides has animated with so much passion and emotion, are so many benefits conferred on mankind: for it is of real utility to force from their eyes those precious tears which they shed with so much pleasure; and to nourish in their hearts those sentiments of compassion which nature designed to unite them to each other, and which alone can unite the wretched.

As the characters of men have a great influence on their opinions, it might be expected that the

[t] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 592. [u] Dionys. Halic. de Vet. Script. Cens. t. v. p. 420. Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 631. Vit. Æschyl. [x] Harpocr. in Ταμύν. [y] Dionys. Halic. de Compos Verb. p. 221. [z] Longin. de Sublim. c. 45.

philosophy of Simonides would be mild and unassuming. His system, as far as we can judge from some of his writings, and many of his maxims, was reducible to the following articles:

"Let us not endeavour to penetrate the boundless profundity of the Supreme Being;[a] but be satisfied with knowing that whatever is exists by his command,[b] and that he possesses perfect virtue,[c] of which men have only the feeble emanation they derive from him.[d] Let them not, therefore, boast of perfection, to which they cannot attain.[e] Virtue has fixed her abode amid steep and rugged rocks:[f] if, by arduous labour, mortals should be able to raise themselves to the elevation at which she resides, a thousand fatal circumstances would quickly hurl them down the precipice.[g] Thus their life is a mixture of good and evil; and it is as difficult to be repeatedly virtuous, as it is impossible always to continue so.[h] Let us take a pleasure in praising noble actions, and shut our eyes on those which deserve reprehension; either from duty, when the offender has claims to our affection,[i] or from lenity, when he is indifferent to us. Far from censuring others with too great severity, let us remember the frailty inseparable from our nature;[k] and that we are only destined to remain for

[a] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 22. t. ii. p. 415. [b] Simonid. ap. Theoph. Antioch. ad Autolyc. lib. 2. page 256. [c] Plat. in Protag. tom. i. p. 341. [d] Simonid. ap. Theoph. Antioch. ad Autolyc. lib. 2. p. 256. [e] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 344. [f] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 4. p. 585. [g] Plat. ibid. [h] Id. ibid. Stob. p. 560. [i] Plat. ibid. p. 346. [k] Plut. de Consol. t. ii. p. 107.

a moment on the surface of the earth, and to be for ever inclosed in its bowels.[l] Time hastens with extreme rapidity; a thousand ages, in comparison with eternity, are but as a point, or as a very small part of an imperceptible point;[m] let us employ moments so fugitive in enjoying the blessings of life,[n] the principal of which are health, beauty, and riches acquired without fraud;[o] since from the proper use of these results that true enjoyment, without which wealth, grandeur, and immortality itself, can give us no pleasure."[p]

These principles, which are dangerous, because they tend to extinguish courage in the virtuous heart, and to deaden the remorse of guilt, might be considered only as an error of the mind, if Simonides, while he inculcated such lenity to others, had been but the more rigorous in the regulation of his own conduct. But he dared to propose an act of injustice to Themistocles;[q] and blushed not to praise the murderers of Hipparchus, by whom he had been loaded with favours.[r] He is also reproached with having been a slave to avarice, which even the liberality of Hiero could not satisfy; and which, as is usual with that wretched passion, became every day more insatiable.[s] He was the first who degraded poetry by making it a shameful traffic of praise.[t]

[l] Stob. serm. 120. p. 608. [m] Plut. ibid. p. 111. [n] Stob. serm. 6. p. 531. [o] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 4. p. 574. [p] Athen. lib. 12. p. 512. [q] Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 114. [r] Hephæst. in Enchirid. p. 14. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 8. c. 2. [s] Athen. lib. 14. c. 121. p. 656. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. c. 1. [t] Schol. Pind. Isthm. 2. v. 9. Callim. Frag. ap. Spanh. t. i. p. 264 et 337.

He idly said, that the pleasure of amassing riches was the only one of which at his age he was capable;[u] and that he would rather choose to enrich his enemies after his death, than be obliged to have recourse to the generosity of his friends during his life;[x] that, after all, no person was exempt from defects; and that, if ever he should find a faultless man, he would proclaim him to the whole world.[y] This strange apology was insufficient to justify him in the eyes of the public, whose decrees invariably refuse pardon to those vices which originate more in baseness than weakness.

Simonides died at the age of about ninety.[z]* It is recorded to his honour that he heightened the splendour of the religious ceremonies in the isle of Ceos,[a] added an eighth string to the lyre,[b] and invented the art of artificial memory;[c] but what must insure to him immortal glory is, that he gave instructive lessons to kings; and bestowed happiness on Sicily by reclaiming Hiero from his extravagant projects,[d] and inducing him to live in peace with his neighbours, his subjects, and himself.

The family of Simonides resembled those families

[u] Plut. an Seni. tom. ii. p. 786. [x] Stob. serm. 10. p. 152. [y] Plat. in Protag. tom. i. p. 346. [z] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 58. Suid. in Σιμων. Lucian. in Macrob. tom. iii. p. 228. * The year 468 before Christ. [a] Athen. lib. 10. cap. 22. page 456. [b] Plin. lib. 7. c. 56. t. i. p. 416. [c] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 86. t. ii. p. 275. Id. de Fin. lib. 2. c. 32. t. ii. p. 137. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 24. tom. i. p. 387. [d] Synes. ad Theot. epist. 49. p. 187. Schol. Pind. in Olymp. 2. v. 29. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 15.

in which the priesthood of the Muses is perpetual. His grandson, of the same name, wrote on genealogies, and the discoveries which do honour to the human mind.[e] In Bacchylides, his nephew, he seemed again to revive as a lyric poet. The purity of the style of Bacchylides, the correctness of his manner, and the regular and connected beauties of his works,[f] obtained him an applause of which Pindar might have been jealous.[g] These two poets divided, during some time, the favour of king Hiero, and the suffrages of his courtiers; but when the royal patronage no longer prevented each from taking his true place, Pindar soared to the skies, and Bacchylides remained on the earth.

While the latter did honour to his country in Sicily, the Sophist Prodicus rendered it illustrious in the different cities of Greece,[h] by reciting orations composed with art, and abounding in ingenious allegories, expressed in a simple, elevated and harmonious style. His eloquence was shamefully venal and destitute of all support from the graces of voice and utterance;[i] but as he pourtrayed virtue under a pleasing form, he was admired by the Thebans, praised by the Athenians, and esteemed by the Spartans.[k] He afterwards published maxims destructive of the foundations of religion;[l] and from that moment

[e] Suid. in Σιμων. [f] Longin. de Sublim. c. 33. [g] Schol. Pind. in Pyth. 2. v. 171. [h] Bayle, Dict. art. Prodicus. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 157. See also what I have said of Prodicus in chap. LVIII. [i] Philostr. de Vit. Sophist. lib. 1. p. 496. [k] Id. ibid. p. 483. [l] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 42. t. ii. p. 432. Sext. Empir. adv. Physic. lib. 9. page 552, 561. Suid. in Πρόδικ.

the Athenians considered him as the corruptor of youth, and condemned him to drink hemlock.

Not far from Ceos is the island of Cythnos, famous for its pasturage:[m] and the land which you see still nearer to us, to the west, is the fertile isle of Scyros,[n] in which was born one of the most ancient philosophers of Greece;[o] I mean Pherecydes, who lived about two hundred years since.[p] He occasioned a great revolution in the ideas and learning of his age. When a dreadful malady no longer left him any hope of recovery, Pythagoras, his disciple, made a voyage from Italy to visit him in his last moments.[q]

Direct now your eyes towards the south: observe in the horizon those gloomy and fixed vapours which obscure the dawning radiance of the day;—there are the islands of Paros and Naxos.

Paros may be about three hundred stadia in circuit.[r*] When I tell you that it possesses fertile plains, numerous flocks,[s] two excellent harbours,[t] and has sent colonies to distant countries,[u] you will be able to form a general idea of the power of its inhabitants. Some particular facts will enable you to judge of their character, according to the circumstances in which it has been displayed.

[m] Steph. in Κύθν. Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg. v. 526. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 326. [n] Homer. Odyss. lib. 15. v. 405. [o] Diog. Laërt. lib. 1. § 116. [p] Id. ibid. § 121. [q] Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 242. Iambl. in Vit. Pythag. cap. 35. p. 202. Porph. Vit. Pythag. p. 3. [r] Plin. lib. 4. t. i. p. 12. Tournef. Voyag. tom. i. p. 203. * 11 leagues and one third. [s] Tournef. ibid. [t] Scylax. Peripal. ap. Geogr. Min. t. i. p. 22. [u] Strab. lib. 10. p. 487.

The city of Miletus in Iönia was distracted by fatal dissensions.[x] Among all the states distinguished for their wisdom, the people of Paros appeared to the Milesians the most proper to re-establish tranquillity in their government. They sent therefore for arbitrators from Paros; who, being unable to reconcile the contending factions, long exasperated against each other by mutual hatred and outrages, left the city, and traversed the country, which they found untilled and desert, except some few portions of land which a small number of citizens still continued to cultivate. Struck with the profound tranquillity in which these persons lived, they immediately placed them at the head of the government; and order and plenty were immediately restored to Miletus.

In the expedition of Darius, the Parians joined that monarch, and partook in the shame of his defeat at Marathon.[y] Obliged to take refuge in their city, they were there besieged by Miltiades.[z] After a long defence, they demanded to capitulate; and conditions were already agreed on by both parties, when a flame was seen to rise in the air on the side of Mycone. It was occasioned by a wood having accidentally taken fire; but was imagined, both in the camp and the town, to be a signal from the Persian fleet, to signify that it was hastening to succour the island. Under this persuasion the besieged refused to abide by their

[x] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 28. [y] Id. lib. 6. c. 133. [z] Ephor. ap. Steph. in Πάρ. Eustath. in Dionys. v. 525. Nep. in Miltiad. c. 7.

word, and Miltiades retired from before the place. That great man expiated, by a rigorous imprisonment, the ill success of his enterprise. But the Parians were punished with still greater severity: their perjury has been eternised by a proverb.

At the time of the expedition of Xerxes, they betrayed the Greeks by continuing in alliance with the Persians, and the Persians by remaining inactive. Their fleet, lying idle in the port of Cythnos, waited the issue of the battle, to take part with the conqueror.[a] They did not foresee that, not to contribute to his victory, was to expose themselves to his vengeance; and that a small republic, placed between two great powers who seek to extend their limits at the expense of each other, has frequently no resource but to follow the torrent, and pursue glory while it weeps the loss of its liberty. The Parians were not long before they found themselves in this situation. They for a time repelled the conquerors at Salamis[b] by dint of contributions; but they at length sunk under their yoke, almost without resistance.

The Graces have altars at Paros. While Minos king of Crete was sacrificing to these divinities,[c] the news arrived that his son Androgeus was slain in Attica. He ended the ceremony by casting far from him the crown which girt his brow; and with a voice interrupted by sighs and tears, commanded the flute-player to be silent. The priests have preserved the remembrance of this just and natural grief, and

[a] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 67. [b] Id. ibid. c. 112. [c] Apollod. lib. 3. c. 251.

when they are asked why they have banished from their sacrifices the custom of wearing crowns, and playing on instruments of music, they reply: It was thus circumstanced, it was near this altar that the happiest of fathers learned the death of a son whom he tenderly loved, and became the most wretched of men.

Many cities boast of being the birth-place of Homer; but not one disputes with Paros the honour or the shame of having produced Archilochus.[d] This poet, who lived about three hundred and fifty years ago,[e] was of a distinguished family. The Pythia predicted his birth, and the glory at which he was one day to arrive.[f] Prepared by this oracle, the Greeks admire in his writings the strength of his language, and the elevation of his ideas;[g] they see him, even in his wildest flights, display the nervous vigour of his genius,[h] extend the limits of his art, and introduce new cadences into his verses, and new beauties into music.[i] Archilochus has done for lyric poetry what Homer did for epic. Both have had this in common, that, in their respective kinds of composition, they have served as models;[k] that their works are recited in the general assemblies of Greece;[l] and that their birth is celebrated alike by particular

[d] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 572. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. x. p. 36, 239. [e] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 12. Aul. Gell. lib. 17. c. 21. Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 1. c. 1. t. ii. p. 234. [f] Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 5. c. 33. p. 27. [g] Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1. [h] Longin. de Sublim. cap. 33. [i] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1140. [k] Vell. Patercul. lib. 1. cap. 5. [l] Chamæl. ap. Athen. lib. 14. c. 3. p. 620.

festivals.[m] Yet, though the public gratitude has associated their names, it has not intended to confound their ranks, and only grants the second place to the poet of Paros;[n] but it is indeed to have obtained the first, to have Homer alone for a superior.

With respect to his morals and conduct, Archilochus merits to be classed among the vilest of men. Never were more sublime talents joined with a more vicious and depraved character. His writings are polluted with licentious language and lascivious descriptions,[o] and abound in that gall in which the malignity of his disposition delighted.[p] His friends, his enemies, the unfortunate objects of his amours, all without distinction became the subjects of his cruel satire; and, what is still more strange, it is from himself that we learn these odious facts.[q] He has had the courage, when sketching the history of his life, steadily to survey all its horrors, and the insolence to expose them to the view of the whole world.

The youthful charms of Neobule, the daughter of Lycambes, had made an impression on his heart.[r] Mutual promises appeared to have ensured his felicity, and the conclusion of a marriage with the object of his affection, when motives of interest induced the fair one to give the preference to a rival. Instantly

[m] Anthol. lib. 2. cap. 47. p. 173. [n] Val. Max. lib. 6. c. 3. Extern. No. 1. [o] Œnom. ap. Euseb. in Præpar. Evang. lib. 5. c. 32, 33. Julian. Imper. Frag. p. 300. [p] Pynd. Pyth. 2. v. 100. [q] Ælian. lib. 10. c. 15. Synes. de Insomn. page 158. [r] Schol. Horat. epod. 6. v. 13.

the poet, more irritated than afflicted, shook the snakes which the Furies had given into his hands, and poured on Neobule and her family such a torrent of opprobrious satire, that he compelled them all to terminate, by a violent death, a life which he had empoisoned by the virulence of his reproaches.[s]

Forced by indigence to quit his country, he removed to Thasos[t] with a colony of Parians.[u] He there found new food for his malignant fury, and the public hatred burst forth against him. An opportunity to appease this soon happened. The people of Thasos were at war with the neighbouring states. He followed the army, came in sight of the enemy, threw away his buckler, and fled. The latter action is one of the most infamous of which a Greek can be guilty; but infamy only makes impression on minds who merit not to suffer it. Archilochus openly avowed his cowardice: "I have thrown away my buckler," says he, in one of his works; "but I shall find another; and I have saved my life."[x]

Thus was it that he braved the reproaches of the public, because his own heart was callous to every feeling of shame.[y] After having been guilty of this insult on the laws of honour, he dared to go to Lacedæmon. But what could he expect from a people who never separate their admiration from their esteem? The Spartans shuddered to behold him within

[s] Anthol. lib. 3. c. 25. p. 271. Suid in Δυκαμβ. [t] Ælian. lib. 10. c. 13. [u] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 398. [x] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 1296. Schol. ibid. Strab. lib. 12. p. 549.

their city; instantly commanded him to depart;[y] and proscribed his writings through all the territories of their republic.[z]

The people assembled at the Olympic games consoled him for this mortification. He there recited in honour of Hercules, that famous hymn which is still sung when the glory of the victors is celebrated.[a] The whole assembly received it with loud applause; and when the judges decreed him a crown, he might have felt that, never has poetry a greater influence over the heart than when it instructs us in our duties.

Archilochus was killed by Callondas of Naxos, whom he had long pursued. The Pythia considered his death as an insult offered to poetry: "Leave the temple," said she to his murderer; "thou hast laid violent hands on the favourite of the Muses."[b] Callondas alleged that he slew his enemy in his own defence; but the Pythia, though she was not inflexible to his prayers, commanded him to appease the irritated manes of Archilochus by libations.[c] Such was the end of a man who by his genius, vices, and impudence, was at once beheld with admiration, contempt, and dread.

Less celebrated, but more deserving of esteem than this poet, Polygnotus, Arcesilaus, and Nicanor of

[y] Plut. Instit. Lacon. tom. ii. p. 239. [z] Val. Max. lib. 6. c. 3. Extern. No. 1. [a] Pind. Olymp. od. 9. v. 1. [b] Plut. de Serâ Num. Vind. tom. ii. p. 560. Œnom. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 5. c. 33. p. 228. [c] Suid. in Ἀρχιλ.

Paros, made considerable improvements in the art of encaustic painting.[d] Another artist, a native of this island, has acquired a reputation by a borrowed merit; I mean Agoracritus, whom Phidias took for a pupil, and whom he endeavoured in vain to raise to an equality with his rivals.[e] He gave up to him a part of his own glory, by placing on his own productions the name of his young disciple; without reflecting that the elegance of the workmanship would discover the imposture, and betray the ineffectual zeal of his friendship.

But though Paros cannot furnish artists with models, it supplies them with inexhaustible materials: the whole earth is covered with monuments which derive their origin from the quarries of Mount Marpessus.[f] In those subterranean caverns, illumined with a feeble light,[g] a race of slaves laboriously dig forth those enormous blocks which shine in the superb edifices of Greece, and even in the front of the Egyptian labyrinth.[h] Many of the temples are faced with this marble, because its colour, it is said, is agreeable to the immortals.[i] There was a time when sculptors made use of no other, and even at present it is in great request;[k] though it does not always answer to their wish, because the large crys-

[d] Plin. lib. 35. c. 11. t. ii. p. 703. [e] Id. lib. 36. c. 5. t. ii. p. 725. Suid. in Ῥαμνοὺς. [f] Steph. in Μάρπ. Virg. Æneid. lib. 6. v. 471. Serv. ibid. [g] Plin. ibid. Athen. lib. 5. page 205. [h] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 739. [i] Plat. de Leg. t. ii. lib. 12. p. 956. [k] Strab. lib. 10. p. 487. Plin. lib. 36. c. 5. t. ii. p. 725.

talline parts of which its texture consists, lead astray the eye by illusive reflexions, and shiver under the chisel.[l] This defect is, however, recompensed by several excellent qualities, and especially by its extraordinary whiteness,[m] to which the poets make frequent allusions, and such as are sometimes relative to the character of their poetry. "I shall raise a monument more resplendent than the marble of Paros," says Pindar, speaking of one of his odes.[n] "O most able of painters!" exclaims Anacreon; "borrow, to represent her whom I adore, the colours of the rose, of milk, and of the marble of Paros."[o]

Naxos is separated from the preceding island only by a very narrow channel. None of the Cyclades equals it in size, and it may dispute with Sicily itself the palm of fertility.[p] Its beauty, nevertheless, is not immediately perceived by the traveller when he arrives at his shores:[q] he discovers only inaccessible and desert mountains; but these mountains are but barriers raised by nature to resist the fury of the winds, and defend the plains and valleys which she covers with her treasures.[r] There she displays all her magnificence; inexhaustible sources of the purest waters assume a thousand different forms, and the flocks stray amid the abundant herbage of the verdant meads. There, not far from the delightful banks of

[l] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 202. [m] Anton. Itiner. p. 528. Horat. lib. 1. od. 19. v. 6. [n] Pind. Nem. od. 4. v. 131. [o] Anacr. od. 28. v. 27. [p] Agathem. lib. 1. cap. 5. Geogr. ap. Min. t. ii. p. 16. Plin. lib. 4. c. 12. t. i. p. 212. [q] Tournef. Voyag. p. 213. [r] Id. ibid.

the Biblinus,[s] ripen those exquisite figs with which Bacchus made the inhabitants of the island acquainted, and those famous grapes, the wine of which is preferred to almost every other. Pomegranates, almond-trees,[t] and olives, multiply without difficulty in the plains, which are annually covered with abundant harvest. A multitude of slaves are continually employed in gathering these treasures,[u] and innumerable vessels in transporting them to distant countries.

Notwithstanding their riches, the inhabitants are brave, generous, and extremely jealous of their liberty. Two centuries past their republic was at the summit of its greatness, and could bring eight thousand men into the field.[x] They had the glory to resist the Persians before they were subjected by them;[y] and to shake off their yoke when they projected the conquest of all Greece.[z] Their sea and land forces joined those of the Greeks, and distinguished themselves in the battles of Salamis and Platæa; but at the same time taught the Athenians that they must no longer suffer a power to increase which was already capable of rendering them such signal services. Accordingly, when the latter people, in contempt of all treaties, had resolved to subjugate their ancient allies, they made their first attack on the people of Naxos,[a] whom they only left in possession of their festivals and games.

At these Bacchus presides: Bacchus is the pro-

[s] Etymol. Magn. in Βίβλινος. [t] Athen. lib. 2. c. 12. p. 52.
[u] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 31. [x] Id. ibid. cap. 30. [y] Id. ibid.
[z] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 325. [a] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 98, 137.

tector of Naxos; and every thing there presents us with the image of the favour of the god and the gratitude of the people. The inhabitants eagerly show to strangers the place where he was nursed by the nymphs,[b] and relate the prodigies he has wrought in their behalf. From him proceed the riches they enjoy, and to him alone their altars smoke day and night. Here their adoration is addressed to the god who taught them to cultivate the fig-tree;[c] and there to the divinity who infuses into their grapes a nectar he has brought down from heaven.[d] They worship him under various titles, to multiply the duties which are dear to them.

At no great distance from Paros are Seriphos, Siphnos, and Melos. To obtain an idea of the former of these islands,[e] imagine a number of steep and barren mountains, in the intervals of which are deep gulfs, where a wretched race of men continually behold, suspended over their heads, fearful rocks, the monuments of the vengeance of Perseus; for, according to a ridiculous, but, to the inhabitants of Seriphos, terrible tradition, that hero, armed with the head of Medusa, formerly changed their ancestors into these dreadful objects.[f]

At a small distance from this island, imagine, beneath a sky continually serene, meads enamelled

[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 325. [c] Athen. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 78. [d] Archil. ap. Athen. lib. 1. c. 24. p. 30. [e] Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. c. 21. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 602. Tournef. Voyag. t. 1. p. 179. [f] Strab. lib. 10. p. 487. Pherec. apud Schol. Apoll. Rhod. lib. 4. v. 1515.

with flowers, and plains perpetually productive of fruits, and you will have a feeble image of the beauties of Siphnos.[g] The pure air of this enchanting country prolongs the life of man beyond its ordinary limits. It was formerly the richest among all the Cyclades.[h] Its mines annually produced to the inhabitants an immense tribute in gold and silver, a tenth part of which they consecrated to Apollo at Delphi; and their offerings constituted one of the richest treasures of that temple. The fury of the sea has since destroyed the sources of their wealth; their opulence has vanished, and nothing now remains to them but the regret of its loss, and the vices of which it was productive.[i]

The island of Melos is one of the most fertile in the Ægean sea.[k] Sulphur and other minerals, contained in the bowels of the earth, maintain in it an active warmth, and give an exquisite taste to its productions.

The people who inhabit it had been independent during several centuries, when, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians proposed to them to break the neutrality they observed with respect to Athens and Lacedæmon, from the latter of which cities they derived their origin.[l] Irritated at their refusal, they repeatedly attacked them, and at length fell upon them with all the forces of the republic.[m]

[g] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 172. [h] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 57. [i] Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 11. p. 823. Hesych. et Suid. in Σιφνιάζ. Steph. in Σίφν. [k] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 145. [l] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 84. [m] Id. ibid. c. 85, &c.

The island was conquered, but the shame rested with the conquerors, who began the war unjustly, and concluded it by an act of barbarity. The vanquished were carried into Attica; where, by the advice of Alcibiades, all those who were able to bear arms were put to death.[n] The remainder groaned in chains till the army of Lacedæmon compelled the Athenians to send them back to Melos.[o]

A philosopher, a native of this island, having been a witness to the calamities it had suffered, indignantly avowed the opinion, that the wretched, having no longer any thing to hope from men, no longer owe a reverence to the gods. This philosopher was Diagoras, to whom the Mantineans are indebted for their laws and the happiness they enjoy.[p] His ardent imagination, after having prompted him to the wild flights of dithyrambic poetry, impressed him with a servile fear towards the gods. The worship he paid them was loaded with a multitude of superstitious ceremonies;[q] and he traversed Greece to obtain initiation into all the mysteries. But his philosophy, which was proof against all the irregularities and disorders of the natural world, sunk beneath an act of injustice of which he was himself the victim. One of his friends refused to restore to him a deposit with which he had entrusted him, and vindicated his refusal by an oath which he took in

[n] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 116. Strab. lib. 10. p. 434. Plut. in Alcibiad. t. i. p. 199. [o] Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 441. [p] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 23. [q] Sext. Empir. adv. Phys. lib. 9. p. 561.

the presence of the altars.[r] The silence of the gods with regard to so flagrant a perjury, together with the cruelties exercised by the Athenians in the isle of Melos, astonished the philosopher, and hurried him from the fanaticism of superstition into that of atheism. He irritated the priests, by divulging, in his discourses and his writings, the secrets of the mysteries;[s] the people, by breaking the statues of the gods;[t*] and all Greece by publicly denying their existence.[u] A general clamour was raised against him, and his very name became a term of reproach.[x] The magistrates of Athens cited him before their tribunal, and pursued him from city to city.[y] A talent was promised to any one who should bring his head, and two talents if he were brought alive; and, to perpetuate the memory of this decree, it was engraven on a brazen column.[z] Diagoras, finding no place of refuge in Greece, embarked on board a vessel, and perished by shipwreck.[a]

[r] Hesych. Illustr. in Διαγόρ. p. 11. Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 828. [s] Lysias in Andoc. p. 111. Tatian. Orat. adv. Græc. p. 95. Suid in Διαγόρ. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 1073. [t] Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 828. Athenag. in Legat. p. 38. Clem. Alex. in cohort. ad Gent. p. 21. * One day, in an inn, finding no other wood, he laid a statue of Hercules on the fire; and, alluding to the twelve labours of the hero, "There still remains," cried he, "a thirteenth labour for your godship to complete, which is to make my dinner boil." (Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 828.) [u] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 416. Sext. Empir. Pyrrhon. Hypoth. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 182. [x] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 828. [y] Schol. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 323. [z] Aristoph. in Av. v. 1073. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Διαγόρ. Joseph. in Appian. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 493. [a] Athen. lib. 13. cap. 9. p. 611.

The eye, when it surveys a meadow, perceives not the noxious plant that intermingles its poison amid the flowers, nor the modest flower which conceals itself beneath the herbage. Thus, in describing the islands which form a circle round Delos, it is not necessary that I should speak of the rocks scattered in the intervals between them, nor of several smaller islands which serve only to add an ornament to the ground of the picture which is presented to your view.

Their inhabitants are separated by the sea, but united by pleasure. They have festivals which are common to them, and which assemble them together, sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another; but these cease the moment our solemnities commence. Thus, according to Homer,[b] the gods suspend their profound deliberations, and arise from their thrones, when Apollo appears in the midst of them. The neighbouring temples are about to be deserted; the divinities there adored permit the incense destined to them to be conveyed to Delos. Solemn deputations, known by the name of *Theoriæ*, are charged with this illustrious commission. They bring them with choruses of boys and maidens, who are the triumph of beauty, and the principal ornament of our festivals. They repair hither from the coasts of Asia, the islands of the Ægean sea, the continent of Greece, and the most distant countries.[c]

[b] Homer. Hymn. in Apoll. v. 4. [c] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 104. Callim. in Del. v. 279. Pausan. lib. 4. p. 287.

They arrive to the sound of musical instruments, to the voice of pleasure, and with all the pomp that taste and magnificence can furnish. The vessels which bring them are covered with flowers; chaplets of flowers are worn by the mariners and pilots; and their joy is the more expressive, as they consider it as a religious duty to forget every care by which it may be destroyed or abated.[d]

As Philocles ended, the scene every moment changed, and continually received new embellishments. The small fleets which bring the offerings to Delos had already left the ports of Mycone and Rhenea, and other fleets appeared at a distance. An infinite number of vessels of every kind flew over the surface of the sea, resplendent with a thousand different colours. They were seen to issue from the channels which separate the islands, cross, pursue, and join each other. A fresh gale played in their purple sails, and the waves beneath their oars were covered with a foam which reflected the rays of the rising sun.

At the foot of the mountain an immense multitude overspread the plain. The crowds of people advanced, and fell back, with a motion resembling that of a field of corn, when agitated by the wind; and the transports of joy by which they were animated produced a vague and confused sound, that seemed to float, if I may so speak, over that vast body.

While we surveyed this scene, which excited in

[d] Spanh. in Hymn. in Del. 488.

us emotions not to be described, clouds of smoke covered the summit of the temple, and arose into the air. The festival is begun, said Philocles; the incense burns on the altar: and immediately, in the city, and in the plain, we heard a thousand voices exclaim: The festival is begun; let us hasten to the temple.

In the temple we found the maidens of Deles, crowned with flowers, habited in resplendent robes, and adorned with all the charms of youth and beauty. Ismene, at their head, executed the dance of the misfortunes of Latona,[e] and exhibited to our eyes what she had sung to us the day before. Her companions accompanied her motions with the sound of their voices and their lyres: but these no one heard; even they themselves suspended their song to admire Ismene.

Sometimes she fled from the anger of Juno, and then she seemed only to skim the ground: at other times she remained motionless: and this rest painted still more expressively the anguish of her soul.

Theagenes, in the character of Mars, was by his menaces to drive Latona from the banks of the Peneus. But when he beheld Ismene at his feet, in a suppliant posture, he could only turn away his eyes; while Ismene, powerfully affected by even this appearance of severity, fainted away in the arms of her attendants.

All present were greatly affected; but the order

[e] Lucian. de Salt. t. ii. p. 291.

of the ceremonies was not interrupted. At the same moment was heard a chorus of boys, who, from their blooming and resplendent beauty, might have been taken for the sons of Aurora. While they sang a hymn in honour of Diana, the maidens of Delos executed lively and agile dances.[f] The music, which regulated their steps, inspired them with a delicious intoxication: they held garlands of flowers, and placed them with a trembling hand on an ancient statue of Venus, which Ariadne had brought from Crete, and Theseus dedicated in this temple.[g]

Other concerts also reached our ears: these were the songs and music of the Theoriæ of the isles of Rhenea and Mycone, who waited, under the portico, the moment when they might be admitted into the sacred place. We saw them, and imagined that we beheld the Hours and Seasons attending at the gate of the palace of the Sun.

We also saw the Theoriæ of Ceos and Andros land on the beach. It might have been said, at sight of them, that the Loves and Graces were come to establish their empire in one of the Fortunate Islands.

From every side arrived solemn deputations, who made the air resound with sacred songs.[h] They marshalled on the beach the order of their procession, and slowly advanced towards the temple, in the midst of the acclamations of the multitude who thronged around them. With their homage they presented to

[f] Callim. in Del. v. 303. [g] Id. ibid. v. 306. Pausan. lib. 9. p. 793. Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 9. [h] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 535.

the god the first fruits of their country :[i] and these ceremonies, like all those practised at Delos, were accompanied by dances, songs, and symphonies.[k] On coming out of the temple, the Theoriæ were conducted to houses supported at the expense of the cities whose offerings they brought.[l]

The most distinguished poets of our time have composed hymns for this festival; but their success had not diminished the glory of the great men who had celebrated it before them. We seemed to be in the presence of their genii. Here we heard the harmonious songs of Olen of Lycia, one of the first who consecrated poetry to the worship of the gods;[m] there the gentle accents of Simonides;[n] and there the seducing notes of Bacchylides,[o] or the impetuous transports of Pindar;[p] while, in the midst of this sublime harmony, the lofty strains of Homer inspired universal reverence.[q]

In the mean time, the Theoria of the Athenians was perceived at a distance. A number of light vessels seemed to sport round the sacred galley, like the daughters of Nereus, when they follow the car of the sovereign of the seas. Their sails, whiter than snow, shone like the swans which wave their wings on the waters of the Cayster and Mæander. At sight of them, some old men, who had with dif-

[i] Callim. in Del. v. 278.
[l] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 35. Pausan. lib. 9. c. 27. p. 762. Callim. in Del. v. 28.
[k] Lucian. de Salt. t. ii. p. 277.
[m] Id. ibid. Callim. in Del. v. 305.
[n] Suid. in Σιμονιδ.
[o] Schol. Pindar. Isthm. 1. v. 4. Id. ap. Philon. de Mund. Incorr. p. 960.
[p] Pindar. Isthm. 1. v. 4.
[q] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 104.

ficulty come down to the beach, regretted their youthful days, when Nicias, the general of the Athenians, was appointed to conduct the Theoria. He did not proceed with it, said they to us, immediately to Delos; but brought it secretly to the isle of Rhenea, which you see before you.[r] The whole night was employed in erecting over the channel between the two islands a bridge, the materials of which, prepared long before, and richly gilt and painted, only required to be joined together. It was nearly four stadia* in length, covered with superb carpets, and ornamented with garlands; and on the day following, at early dawn, the Theoria crossed the sea, not like the army of Xerxes, to ravage and lay waste nations, but bringing to them pleasures in its train; and that they might taste the first fruits of these, it remained long suspended over the waves, chanting sacred songs, and delighting all eyes with a glorious spectacle, which the sun will never again behold.[s]

The deputation which we saw arrive had been almost entirely chosen from among the most ancient families of the republic. It was composed of several citizens who took the title of Theori;† of two choruses of boys and maidens,[t] to sing hymns and perform dances; of certain magistrates, appointed to

[r] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 525. * About 378 toises (3 furlongs and 145 yards). [s] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 87. † The Theorus was a sacred ambassador, appointed to offer sacrifices in the name of the city. (Suid. in Θεωρ.) [t] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 58. Xen. Memor. lib. 3. p. 765.

collect the tributes, and provide whatever may be necessary for the Theoria;[u] and ten inspectors, chosen by lot, who preside at the sacrifices:[x] for the Athenians have usurped the superintendance of these; and it is in vain that the priests and magistrates of Delos urge their claims to rights which they are not in a condition to support by force.[y]

This Theoria appeared with all that splendour[z] which might be expected from a city in which luxury is excessive. When it came before the god, it made an offering to him of a crown of gold of the value of fifteen hundred drachmas;[a] * and soon after was heard the bellowing of a hundred oxen,[b] that fell beneath the sacred steel. This sacrifice was followed by a dance, in which the young Athenians represented the motion and wanderings of the island of Delos, while it was driven at the pleasure of the winds over the liquid plains of the sea.[c] Scarcely was this ended when the Delian youth joined them, to figure the windings of the labyrinth of Crete, in imitation of Theseus, who, after his victory over the Minotaur, had performed this dance near the altar.[d]

[u] Tayl. Marm. Sand. p. 50. [x] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 107. p. 927. Etymol. in Ιερομ. Vales in Harpocr. et Mauss. Not. p. 132. [y] Demosth. de Cor. p. 495. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 230. [z] Xen. Memor. lib. 3. p. 765. [a] Marm. Sand. et Not. Tayl. p. 66. * 1350 livres. (56*l.* 10*s.*) [b] Homer. Hymn. in Apoll. v. 57. Tayl. in Marm. Sand. p. 35. Corsin. Dissert. in Marm. Sand. p. 123. Id. Dissert. 6. in Append. ad Not. Græc. [c] Lucian. de Salt. tom. ii. p. 291. [d] Callim. in Del. v. 312. Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 9. Poll. lib. 4. c. 14. § 101. p. 407.

Those who most distinguished themselves in these dances were rewarded with tripods of the value of a thousand drachmas,[e]* which they consecrated to the god; and their names were proclaimed by two heralds,[f] who came in the train of the Theoria.

The whole expense to the republic for the prizes distributed to the conquerors, the presents and sacrifices offered to the god, and the conveyance and maintenance of the Theoria, amounts to more than four talents.[g] The temple possesses, in the islands of Rhenea and Delos, and in the continent of Greece, woods, houses, copper manufactures, and baths, which have been bequeathed to it by the piety of the people. This is the first source of its riches; the second is the interest of the sums which arise from these different possessions, and which, after having been collected in the treasury of the Artemisium,[h] are placed out to use, either to individuals or the neighbouring cities.[i] The principal and interest, added to the fines for the crime of impiety, which are always applied to the use of the temple, amount, at the end of four years, to about twenty talents,† which it is the office of the three amphictyons, or treasurers, appointed by the senate of Athens, to collect, and from which they take a certain sum to defray a part of the expenses of the Theoria[k]‡ When the

[e] Marm. Sand. et Not. Tayl. p. 68. * 900 livres (37*l.* 10*s.*)
[f] Poll. lib. 9. c. 6. § 61. Athen. lib. 6. c. 6. p. 234. [g] Marm. Sand. [h] Append. ad Marm. Oxon. No. clv. p. 54. [i] Marm. Sand. † About 108,000 livres. (4500*l.*) [k] Marm. Sand.
‡ See note I.

sacred procession had completed the ceremonies for which it had repaired to the altars, we were conducted to an entertainment given by the senate of Delos to the citizens of the island,[l] who were seated promiscuously on the banks of the Inopus, and under trees which formed a kind of arbours over their heads. The whole company, devoted to pleasure, appeared desirous to express their joy in a thousand different ways, and to communicate to us the impressions which rendered them happy. A pure and universal satisfaction reigned; and all celebrated with loud shouts the name of Nicias, who had first assembled the people in those delightful scenes, and assigned a certain fund to perpetuate his benefaction.

The remainder of the day was appropriated to exhibitions of another kind. Exquisite voices disputed with each other the prize of harmony;[m] and combatants, armed with the cestus, that of wrestling.[n] Boxing, leaping, and foot-racing, successively engaged our attention, and reminded us of what we had seen, some years before, at the Olympic games.* Towards the southern extremity of the island, a stadium had been traced out, around which were ranged the deputies of Athens, the senate of Delos, and all the Theoriæ, habited in their superb robes. These beauteous youths presented a faithful image of the gods assembled on Olympus.

Impetuous coursers, guided by Theagenes and his

[l] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 525. [m] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 104. [n] Homer. Hymn. in Apoll. v. 149. * See Chap. XXXVIII.

competitors, entered the lists,[o] of which they several times made the circuit, and long disputed the victory; till, as when the god of day, after having disengaged his chariot from the clouds, rapidly hastens to the west, Theagenes darted like lightning through the midst of his rivals, and reached the goal at the same instant that the sun terminated his career. He was crowned in the presence of a multitude of spectators, who had hastened from the neigbouring eminences, in the presence of almost all the beauties of Greece, and in the presence of Ismene, whose looks of complacence gave him greater pleasure than those of men and gods.

On the day following, the birth of Apollo was celebrated.[p] * Among the dances performed on this occasion, we saw a number of sailors dance round an altar, which they lashed violently with whips.[q] After this extraordinary ceremony, the mystic sense of which we were unable to penetrate, other dances succeeded, intended to represent the sports which amused the god in his infancy. Those who danced had their hands bound behind them, and were to bite the bark of an olive-tree, consecrated by religion. Their frequent falls and irregular steps occasioned among the spectators violent bursts of laughter, which appeared indecent; but we were told that this mirth was not considered as irreverent, or an offence

[o] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 104. [p] Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 2. * The 7th of the month Thargelion, which corresponded to the 9th of May. [q] Callim. in Del. v. 321. Schol. ibid. Hesych. in Δηλω. Span. in Callim. t. ii. p. 520.

against the majesty of the sacred ceremonies. In fact, the Greeks are persuaded that they cannot too much banish, from the adoration they render to the gods, all sadness and melancholy;[r] and hence it is that, in some places[s] men and women are permitted to attack each other, in the presence of the altars, with the most licentious and gross pleasantries.

The sailors I have mentioned above were among the number of those foreign merchants whom the situation of the island, the privileges it enjoys, the vigilant attention of the Athenians, and the celebrity of the festivals, bring in crowds to Delos;[t] whither they come to exchange their respective riches for the corn, wine, and commodities, of the neighbouring islands; for the scarlet linen tunics, which are made in the isle of Amorgos,[u] the rich purple stuffs of Cos,[x] the highly esteemed alum of Melos,[y] and the valuable copper that from time immemorial has been extracted from the mines of Delos, and of which are made elegant vases.[z] The island was become as it were the storehouse of the treasures of nations; and near the place where they were collected, the inhabitants of Delos, obliged by an express law to furnish water to the whole multitude of strangers,[a]

[r] Spanh. in Callim. t. ii. p. 521. [s] Pausan. lib. 7. c. 27. p. 596. [t] Strab. lib. 10. p. 486. [u] Hesych. et Etymol. Magn. in Αμοργ. Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg. v. 526. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 233. [x] Horat. lib. 4. od. 13. [y] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 293. Plin. lib. 35. c. 15. t. ii. p. 714. Tournef. t. i. p. 156. [z] Plin. lib. 34. c. 2. t. ii. p. 640. Cicer. Orat. pro Rose, Amer. cap. 46. t. iv. p. 91. [a] Athen. lib. 4. cap. 22. p. 173.

set out on long tables, cakes, and eatables, prepared in haste.*

I studied with pleasure the different passions which opulence and necessity produced in places so little distant from each other; and was convinced that, to an attentive mind, no objects in nature are trivial. The Delians first discovered the secret of fattening fowls, and derive a considerable profit from their industry.[b] I saw some persons, mounted on stages, who showed the people eggs, that they held in their hands, and distinguished by their form the kind of pullets by which they had been laid.[c] I had scarcely turned my eyes on this singular scene, when I felt myself forcibly shook by a vigorous arm; and, looking round, was accosted by an Athenian sophist, with whom I was slightly acquainted.—How! said he, Anacharsis, are these objects worthy the attention of a philosopher? Come with me, and no longer waste on such trifles your time, which ought to be devoted to more sublime speculations. He immediately took me to an eminence where some other sophists discussed, with great heat, the subtle questions of the school of Megara.[d] The impetuous Eubulides of Miletus, whom we had formerly seen at Megara,* was at their head, and had just advanced

* It appears, from Athenæus, that, during the festivals of Delos, they exposed in the market, lamb, pork, fish, and cakes, in which they mixed cummin, a kind of grain resembling the seeds of fennel. [b] Plin. lib. 10. c. 50. t. i. p. 571. Columel. de Re Rustic. lib. 8. c. 2. Var. de Re Rust. lib. 3. c. 8. § 9. [c] Cicer. in Lucull. c. 18. t. ii. p. 26; c. 26. p. 36. [d] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 106. * See Chap. XXXVII.

this argument: "Whatever is at Megara, is not at Athens: but there are men at Megara, therefore there are not men at Athens."[e] While the bystanders wearied themselves in vain to resolve this difficulty, a sudden shout announced the arrival of the Theoria of the Tenians, who, besides their own offerings, brought also those of the Hyperboreans.

The latter people dwell towards the north of Greece;[f] they especially pay adoration to Apollo; and there is still to be seen at Delos the tomb of two of his priestesses, who came thither to add new rites to the worship of that god. They also preserve there, in an edifice dedicated to Diana, the ashes of the last Theori, whom the Hyperboreans sent to their island.[g] They unfortunately perished; and, since that event, that nation has sent the first fruits of their harvests through a foreign channel. A neighbouring tribe of the Scythians receive them from their hands, and transmit them to other nations, who convey them to the shores of the Adriatic sea, from whence they are carried to Epirus, traverse Greece, arrive at Eubœa, and are brought to Tenos.[h]

On the arrival of these sacred offerings, nothing was talked of but the wonders that are related of the country of the Hyperboreans: there the spring, youth, and health perpetually reign; and there, during ten complete centuries, men enjoy a tranquil life, in the

[e] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 107. Id. in Chrys. lib. 7. § 187.
[f] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. p. 113, 127, t. xviii. Hist. p. 192. [g] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 35. [h] Id. ibid. c. 33. Callim. in Del. v. 283.

midst of festivals and pleasures.[i] But this happy country is situate at one of the extremities of the earth, as the garden of the Hesperides is at the other. Thus have men ever placed the abode of happiness in inaccessible regions.

While the Greeks listened to these fictions, which enkindled all the ardour of their imagination, I was attentive to that forest of masts which appeared in the port of Delos. The fleets of the Theoriæ presented their prows to the shore, and these prows art had decorated with the symbols peculiar to each nation. Those of the Phthiotes were distinguished by the figures of Nereides. On the Athenian galley, Pallas was represented guiding a resplendent car; and the ships of the Bœötians were ornamented with an image of Cadmus holding a serpent.[k] Some of these fleets were getting under sail; but the beauteous youths they carried back to their country were soon replaced by new beauties. Thus in the course of a long and serene night, some stars are lost in the west, while others rise in the east to replenish the skies.

The festivals lasted several days; the horse-races were frequently repeated. On the beach we saw the famous divers of Delos[l] plunge into the sea, remain beneath its waves, float on its surface, display the image of combats, and justify, by their address, the celebrity they have acquired.

[i] Pynd. Pyth. od. 10. v. 63. Id. et Symonid. ap. Strab. lib. 15. p. 711. Plin. lib. 4. c. 12. t. i. p. 219. [k] Euripid. Iphig. in Aul. v. 240. [l] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 22. Id. lib. 9. § 11. Suid. in Δῆλ.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE TO DELOS.

Marriage Ceremonies.

Love presided at the festivals of Delos; and the numerous youth which the god had assembled around him acknowledged no other laws than his. Sometimes in concert with Hymen, he crowned the constancy of faithful lovers: sometimes he excited a tender languor and anxiety in hearts before insensible: and by these multiplied triumphs prepared the way for the most glorious of all—the marriage of Ismene and Theagenes.

As I was witness to the ceremonies with which this union was accompanied, I shall proceed to relate them, and describe practices, which the laws, custom, and superstition, have introduced, to provide for the security and happiness of the most sacred of engagements; and if, in this account, some apparently frivolous circumstances should be found, they will acquire importance and dignity from the simplicity of the times from which they derive their origin.

Silence and tranquillity began to be restored at Delos. The multitude of strangers diminished like a river, which, after having overflowed the plain, gradually retires into its bed. The inhabitants of

the island had risen before the dawn; they were crowned with flowers, and incessantly offered up, in the temples, and before their houses, sacrifices to render the gods propitious to the marriage of Ismene.[m] The moment when it was to be concluded was arrived. We were assembled in the house of Philocles: the door of the apartment of Ismene opened, and we saw her and Theagenes come out of it, followed by their parents, and a public officer,[n] who had just drawn up the instrument of their engagement. The conditions of this engagement were simple: in it no provision had been made for any discussion of interest between their relatives, nor any cause of divorce between the contracting parties; and with respect to the marriage portion, as Theagenes was already related to Philocles, it was thought sufficient to mention a law of Solon, which, to prevent the property of a family from being carried out of it, enacts that heiresses shall marry their nearest kinsmen.

We were dressed in magnificent habits, which we had received from Ismene.[o] That which Theagenes wore was her own work. Her ornaments were, a necklace of precious stones, and a purple robe embroidered with gold. Both wore on their hair, which flowed on their shoulders, and was perfumed with essences,[p] crowns of poppy, sesamum, and other plants sacred to Venus.[q] Thus habited,

[m] Charit. de Chœr. et Callir. Amor. lib. 3. p. 44. [n] Theodr. Prodr. de Rhod. et Dosicl. Amor. lib. 3. p. 450. [o] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 529. Schol. ib. in Av. v. 671. Achill. Tat. lib. 2. p. 85. [p] Aristoph. in Plut. ibid. [q] Eurip. in Iphig. in Aul. v. 903. Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 869; in Av. v. 159. Schol. ib.

they mounted a chariot,[r] and proceeded towards the temple. Ismene had Theagenes on her right, and on her left a friend of Theagenes, who was to follow him in this ceremony.[s] The people who thronged around them scattered flowers and perfumes in their way.[t] They cried out: These are not mortals: it is Apollo and Coronis; it is Diana and Endymion; it is Apollo and Diana! They sought to procure us favourable omens, and to prevent such as were of evil portent. One said: I saw this morning two turtles long hover in the air, and at length rest together on a branch of that tree. Another said: Drive away the solitary crow, and let her go far hence to mourn the loss of her faithful companion; for she brings the most ill-boding of auguries.[u]

The bride and bridegroom were received at the gate of the temple by a priest, who presented to each of them a branch of ivy, the symbol of the bonds by which they were to be for ever united.[x] He then conducted them to the altar, where every thing was prepared for the sacrifice of a heifer to Diana,[y] to the chaste Diana, whom, as well as Minerva,[z] and the other divinities who had never submitted to the yoke of Hymen, they thus endeavoured to appease. They also employed Jupiter and Juno, whose union

[r] Euripid. in Helen. v. 728. Suid. in Ζεῦγος. Lucian. de Conv. t. iii. p. 450. [s] Suid. ibid. Poll. lib. 10. cap. 7. § 33. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 6. tom. ii. p. 652. lin. 45. [t] Charit. de Chœr. et Call. Amor. lib. 3. p. 44. [u] Ælian. de Animal. lib. 3. c. 9. Horus. Apoll. Hieroglyph. 8. [x] Theod. Prodr. de Rhod. et Dosicl. Amor. lib. 9. page 422. [y] Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 1110. [z] Potter, Archæol. Græc. lib. 4. c. 11. p. 610.

and loves shall be eternal;[a] the Heavens and the Earth, the concurrence of which produces fertility and plenty;[b] the Parcæ, because they hold in their hands the life of mortals;[c] the Graces, because they embellish the pleasures of happy marriages; and, lastly, Venus, from whom Love derives his birth, and who bestows happiness on mortals.[d]

The priests, after having examined the entrails of the victims, declared that the gods approved the marriage. To conclude the ceremonies, we proceeded to the Artemisium, where the lovers deposited each a lock of their hair on the tomb of the last Theori of the Hyperboreans. That of Theagenes was wound about a handful of grass, and that of Ismene round a spindle.[e] This custom reminded them of the first institution of marriage, at which time it was intended to signify that the husband was to be occupied in the labours of the field, and the wife to manage the household affairs.

Philocles now took the hand of Theagenes, and, joining it to the hand of Ismene, pronounced these words: "I bestow on you my daughter, that you may give legitimate citizens to the republic."[f]—The bride and bridegroom then swore to each other an inviolable fidelity; and their parents, after having received their oaths, ratified them by new sacrifices.[g]

[a] Aristoph. in Thermoph. v. 982. Schol. ibid. Poll. lib. 3. c. 3. Suid. in Τελεῖα. [b] Procl. in Tim. lib. 5. p. 293. lin. 26. [c] Poll. lib. 3. c. 3. [d] Etymol. Magn. in Γαμηλ. [e] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 34. Callim. in Del. v. 296. [f] Menander. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 2. p. 502. [g] Meurs. Lect. Att. lib. 3. c. 1.

Night began to come on when we came out of the temple to return to the house of Theagenes. The procession, lighted by numberless torches, was accompanied by bands of musicians and dancers;[h] the house was hung with garlands, and splendidly illuminated.[i]

As soon as the new-married couple set their feet on the threshold of the door, a basket of fruit was, for a moment, placed on their heads,[k] as a presage of the plenty they were to enjoy. We at the same time heard the name of Hymenæus re-echoed on all sides.[l] This was a young man of Argos, who formerly restored to their country some Athenian maidens who had been taken by pirates. He obtained for his reward one of the captives, of whom he was passionately enamoured; and since that time the Greeks contract no marriage without celebrating his memory.[m]

These acclamations followed us into the banqueting hall, and continued during the supper; when some poets entered, and recited epithalamiums.

A child, half covered with branches of hawthorn and oak, appeared with a basket of loaves, and sung a hymn beginning with these words: "I have changed my former state for a happier."[n] The Athenians sing this hymn at one of their festivals, to

[h] Homer. Iliad. lib. 18. v. 491. Hesiod. Scut. Herc. v. 275. Eurip. in Alcest. v. 915. Id. in Helen. v. 728. [i] Hesiod. Bibliop. lib. 6. p. 278. [k] Pierr. Grav. de Stoch. planch. 70. [l] Homer. ibid. Anacr. od. 18. Callim. in Del. v. 296. [m] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ix. p. 307. [n] Hesych. et Suid. in Ἐφέγγος.

celebrate the time in which their ancestors, who had before fed on wild fruits, enjoyed in society the gifts of Ceres. They sing it likewise at marriages, to signify that men, after having left their wild state in the woods, enjoyed the sweets of love. Female dancers, habited in light robes, and crowned with myrtle, afterwards entered, and expressed by their motions the transports, tender languor, and intoxication, of the most delicious of passions.

When this dance was ended, Leucippe lighted the nuptial torch,[o] and conducted her daughter to the apartment prepared for her. A number of symbols reminded Ismene of the duties which were formerly annexed to the new condition of life on which she entered. She carried one of those earthen vessels in which barley is parched:[p] one of her attendants held a sieve, and over the door was hung an instrument used to bruise grain.[q] The new married couple ate of a fruit, the sweetness of which was considered as the emblem of their union.[r]

In the mean time, giving a loose to the transports of an immoderate joy, we raised tumultuous shouts, and besieged the door, which was defended by a faithful friend of Theagenes.[s] A number of young persons danced to the music of several instruments. This noise was at length interrupted by the Theoria from Corinth, who had undertaken to sing the even-

[o] Eurip. in Iphig. in Aul. v. 732. Id. in Phœniss. v. 346.
[p] Poll. lib. 1. cap. 12. § 246. [q] Id. lib. 3. c. 3. § 37. [r] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 89. Id. in Conjug. Præcept. t. ii. p. 138.
[s] Poll. ibid.

ing hymeneal. After having congratulated Theagenes, they added :[t]

"We are in the spring of our years ; we are the fairest of the maidens of Corinth, so renowned for their beauty ;[u] yet is there not one of us, O Ismene ! whose charms can compare to thine.[x] Lighter than the Thessalian courser, exalted above her companions like the lily, the pride of the garden, Ismene is the ornament of Greece. All the loves are enthroned in her eyes, and all the arts live under her fingers. O maid ! O charming woman ! to-morrow will we repair to the enamelled mead, and cull flowers to compose for thee a crown : we will hang it on the most beautiful of the neighbouring plane-trees, under the shade of which we will pour forth perfumes in thy honour, and on its bark we will inscribe these words : *Offer to me your incense, for I am the tree of Ismene.* We salute thee, happy bride ! we salute thee, happy bridegroom ! May Latona give you sons who shall resemble you ! May Venus ever animate you with her fires !—May Jupiter bestow on your children's children the felicity which surrounds you ! Repose in the bosom of pleasure, and henceforth breathe only the most tender love. We will return with the morning's dawn, and again will we sing : O Hymen, Hymenæus, Hymen !"

The next day, as soon as it was light, we repaired to the same place, and heard the maidens of Corinth sing the following hymeneal.[y]

[t] Theocr. Idyll. 18. [u] Anacr. Od. 32. [x] Theocr. ibid.
[y] Theod. Prodr. Amor. p. 465.

"We celebrate you in our songs, O Venus, ornament of Olympus! Love, the delight of the earth! and thou, O Hymen, source of life! we celebrate you in our song, Love, Hymen, Venus! O Theagenes, awake; turn your eyes on your love! Youthful favourite of Venus, happy and worthy husband of Ismene; O Theagenes! awake; turn your eyes on your spouse; survey the splendour of her beauty, the animated freshness which embellishes all her charms. The rose is the queen of flowers, Ismene is the queen of beauties.—Already her trembling eyelid opens to the rays of the sun. O Theagenes; happy and worthy husband of Ismene, awake!"

This day, which the two lovers considered as that on which they began to live, was almost entirely employed, on their part, in receiving the affectionate congratulations of the inhabitants of the island on their marriage. All their friends might make them presents: they also made presents to each other: and received, in conjunction, those of Philocles, the father of Theagenes. They were brought with great ceremony. A child in a white robe opened the procession, bearing a lighted torch; next came a girl with a basket on her head: she was followed by several domestics, who carried vessels of alabaster, boxes of perfumes, different kinds of essences,[z] odorous ointment,[a] and a variety of those luxuries which a taste for convenience and elegance has converted into necessaries.

[z] Harpocr. in Ἀνακαλ. [a] Hesych. et Suid. in Ἐπαύλ. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 24. t. ii. p. 1337. lin. 44.

In the evening Ismene was carried back to her father; and, less in conformity with custom than to express her real sentiments, testified to him the regret she felt at leaving her paternal house: the next day she was restored to her husband; and, from that moment, nothing has interrupted their mutual felicity.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE TO DELOS.

On Happiness.

PHILOCLES, with a heart of the greatest sensibility, possessed an exquisite judgment and extensive knowledge. In his youth he had frequented the schools of the most celebrated philosophers of Greece, and, improved by their lessons, but still more by his own reflection, he had composed a system of conduct which diffused tranquillity through his own soul, and promoted peace and satisfaction among all around him. We incessantly studied this singular man, to whom each moment of his life was a moment of happiness.

One day, as we wandered about the island, we met with this inscription, on a little temple of Latona: "*Nothing is more excellent than justice, more to be desired than health, or more delightful than the possession of the object we love.*" This, said I, is the maxim which Aristotle once censured in our hearing: he alleged that the epithets contained in it ought not to be separated, and that they are only applicable to happiness.[b] And, in fact, happiness is certainly what is most excellent, most to be

[b] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 1. c. 9. t. ii. p. 11. Id. Eudem. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 195.

desired, and most delightful. But to what purpose is it to describe its effects? It would be of much greater importance to discover how it may be obtained. That, replied Philocles, is little known: for, to arrive at it, all men choose different paths, and all differ in opinion respecting the nature of the sovereign good. Sometimes they make it consist in the enjoyment of every pleasure, and sometimes in the exemption from every pain.[c] Some have endeavoured to comprise its characteristics in short maxims; such is the sentence you have just read; and such the song which is frequently sung at table, and in which happiness is made to consist in health, beauty, riches lawfully acquired, and youth enjoyed in the bosom of friendship.[d] Others, besides these precious gifts, require strength of body, courage, justice, prudence, temperance, and, in a word, the possession of every good and every virtue.[e] * But as the greater part of these advantages do not depend on ourselves, and as we should not even find every wish precluded by their union, it is manifest that they do not essentially constitute that species of felicity which is adapted to each man in particular.

In what then does happiness consist? impatiently exclaimed one of our company. How wretched is

[c] Aristot. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. c. 7. p. 180. Democr. ap. Laërt. lib. 9. § 45. Id. ap. Stob. serm. 1. p. 4. [d] Plut. in Georg. t. i. p. 451. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 4. p. 574. Athen. lib. 15. c. 14. p. 694. Stob. serm. 101. p. 552. [e] Ap. Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 661. Ap. Aristot. de Rhet. lib. 1. c. 5. t. ii. p. 522.

* Plutarch mentions one Scopas of Thessaly, who made happiness consist in superfluity. (In Cat. t. i. p. 346. E.)

the lot of mortals, if incessantly compelled to pursue happiness, they are ignorant of the path they ought to choose!—Alas! replied Philocles, they are surely much to be pitied. Cast your eyes around you; in every place, in every condition of life, you will hear only complaints and lamentations, and only behold men tormented with the desire of happiness, and by passions which prevent their attaining it; unsatisfied by pleasure, without fortitude under sufferings, almost equally oppressed by disappointment and enjoyment, incessantly murmuring at their lot, and unable to quit a life the burden of which they find insupportable.

Was it then merely to cover the earth with miserable creatures that mankind was created? and do the gods take a cruel pleasure in persecuting such a feeble race of beings as we are? To this I can never assent: our reproaches are due to ourselves alone. Let us inquire what idea we entertain of happiness. Is it not that of a state in which our desires, perpetually reviving, shall be continually satiated; which shall be diversified according to the difference of inclinations, and the duration of which it shall be in our power to prolong at pleasure?[f] But the eternal order of nature must be changed before such a state can be the lot of any mortal. Thus to desire happiness which shall be unchangeable, and without any mixture of alloy, is to desire what cannot exist; but what, for that very reason, more excites our wishes, since nothing appears to us more desirable than to

[f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 661.

triumph over obstacles which are, or which appear to be, insurmountable.

Invariable laws, too profound for our feeble researches to explain, decree that good shall be uninterruptedly mingled with evil, in the general system of nature, and that the beings which make a part of this great whole, which, as a whole, is so admirable, but so incomprehensible, and sometimes so terrifying, in its parts, shall partake of this mixture, and experience continual vicissitudes. On this condition has life been bestowed on us. From the moment in which we receive it we are condemned to a continual alternation of good and evil, pleasures and pains. If you inquire the reason of this our unhappy lot, some will perhaps answer that the gods intend to bestow on us real good, and not pleasures; that they only grant us the latter to compel us to receive the former; and that, to the greater part of mortals, the sum total of good would be infinitely greater than that of evil, if they were wise enough to refer to the former the agreeable sensations they experience, and the moments they enjoy which are exempt from trouble and disquietude. Such a system may sometimes suspend our murmurs, but the cause of them will ever remain; for, in fact, pain and misery exist on earth, and consume the days of the greater part of men; and even though only one single mortal should suffer, and though he should suffer but for a single moment during his whole life, still that moment of pain would be to us the most incomprehensible and distressing of mysteries.

What then is the result of these reflections? Ought we to plunge blindly into the torrent which hurries away, and insensibly destroys all beings; to present ourselves without resistance, and as victims of fatality, to the evils by which we are menaced; and to renounce, in fine, that hope which is the greatest and even the only good the greater part of our fellow-mortals can experience? Certainly not. I wish that you should be happy, but so far only as it is permitted you to be. I wish you not that chimerical happiness the hope of which is the source of the misery of the human race, but a happiness suited to our present condition, and the more solid, since it is in our power to render it independent of men and of events.

The attainment of this is sometimes facilitated by the natural disposition; and we may even say that certain minds are only happy because they were born happy. Others cannot struggle at once against their disposition and external obstacles, without long and uninterrupted application of mind; for, said an ancient philosopher, "The gods sell us happiness for labour, which is its price."[5] But this mental labour requires not more efforts than the projects and exertion by which we are incessantly agitated; and which, after all, have only for their object an imaginary happiness.

Philocles, having thus spoken, remained silent. He had not, he said, sufficient leisure, nor sufficient abilities, to reduce into a system the observations he

[5] Epicharm. ap. Xen. Memor. lib. 2. p. 737.

had made on so important a subject. Deign at least, said Philotas, to communicate to us, without too scrupulously regarding order and connection, those which may accidentally suggest themselves to you. Condescend to inform us by what means you have attained to this state, at which you cannot have arrived but after a long succession of experiments and errors.

O Philocles! exclaimed the youth Lysis; the zephyrs seem to sport among the branches of this plane-tree, the air is filled with the odours of the flowers that hasten to disclose their beauties, these vines begin to entwine their tender shoots around the myrtles which they will quit no more; the flocks that bound in the meadows, the birds that chant their loves, the instruments that resound through the valleys, all things that I see and hear, fill me with delight and transport. Ah, Philocles! we were created for happiness: I feel that we were, in the delicious and heartfelt emotions which I experience. If you are acquainted with the art of perpetuating these, it is a crime to conceal it from us under the veil of mystery.

You remind me, replied Philocles, of the early years of my life. I still regret the time when, like you, I resigned myself with enthusiasm to the impressions I received. Nature, to which I was yet unaccustomed, appeared to my eyes arrayed in indescribable charms; and my soul, new to every pleasurable sensation, seemed ardently alive to the most delicious sensibility.

I was yet unacquainted with men, and imagined I found in their words and actions that innocence and simplicity which reigned in my own heart. I believed them all just, sincere, capable of friendship, what they ought to be, and what I in reality was. Above all, I believed that they were humane; for experience is especially necessary to convince us that they are not so.

Under this delusion I entered into the world. The politeness for which the societies of Athens are distinguished, the expressions which the desire of pleasing inspires,[h] those effusions of the heart which cost so little and flatter so much—all these deceitful externals had but too many charms for a man who had not yet proved their real worth. I met seduction half way; and attributing to agreeable connections the sentiments and claims of friendship, gave myself up without reserve to the pleasure of loving and being beloved. The pretended friends I thus made choice of, without a prudent examination, occasioned me much injury, and abandoned me, some from interest, and others from jealousy and fickleness. The surprise and grief I felt, forced my eyes to overflow with tears. At length, having experienced every kind of injustice and perfidy, I saw myself constrained, after repeated struggles, to renounce that confidence, so dear to my heart, which I had indiscriminately reposed in all mankind.[i] This

[h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. tom. ii p. 642. [i] Aristot. de Rhet. lib. 2. c. 12. p. 564.

sacrifice cost me more than any other I made in my life; I still shudder at the remembrance of it; so violent were my feelings, that they hurried me into the opposite extreme.[k] I hardened my heart, cherished distrust and hatred with a kind of savage pleasure, and lived a wretched life. At length I called to mind that, among the multitude of opinions that are entertained concerning the nature of happiness, some who are held in greater esteem for their wisdom than others, teach that it consists in pleasure, or in the practice of virtue, and the exercise of an enlightened reason.[l] I determined, therefore, to seek mine in pleasure.

I shall suppress the particulars of the extravagances of my youth, to hasten to the moment that brought them to a period. Being in Sicily, I went to visit one of the principal inhabitants of Syracuse, who was spoken of as the happiest man of his time. His appearance shocked me. Though he was yet in the prime of life, he had every appearance of decrepitude. He was surrounded by musicians, who wearied him with celebrating his virtues,—and beautiful female slaves, who, by their dances, kindled in his eyes at intervals a gloomy and dying fire. When we were alone, I said to him: I congratulate you: you have discovered the rare secret of perpetually retaining with you pleasure, who, though so fugitive to others, is with you a constant guest.—Pleasure a constant guest with

[k] Plat. in Phædon. tom. i. p. 89. [l] Aristot. Eudem. lib. 1. c. 1. t. ii. p. 195.

me! replied he, in a rage; I know it not: I suffer all the despair which the absence of it occasions. This is the only sentiment which remains with me, and which will soon complete the destruction of a body overwhelmed with pain and evils. I endeavoured to inspire him with fortitude; but I found that his mind was degraded and brutish, without principles, and without resources. I afterwards learned that he had never blushed at the acts of injustice he had committed, and that he every day wasted the fortune of his children with foolish profusion.

The example of this man, and the disgust which I on different occasions experienced, delivered me from the intoxication in which I had for some years lived, and determined me to seek tranquillity in the practice of virtue, and the exercise of my reason. I cultivated both with ardour; but I was again on the point of passing to the opposite extreme. The too great austerity of my virtue sometimes filled me with indignation against society; and, from a too rigid attachment to what I esteemed reason, I was inclined to consider all objects as indifferent. An accidental event freed me from both these errors.

I became acquainted, at Thebes, with a disciple of Socrates, whose probity I had heard much extolled. I was struck with the sublimity of his principles, as well as with the regularity of his conduct. But he had gradually introduced so much superstition and fanaticism in the virtue he inculcated, that he might be reproached with permitting in himself no frailty,

nor allowing any indulgence for others. He became peevish, suspicious, and often unjust; the qualities of his heart were esteemed, but his company was generally avoided.

A short time after, being at Delphi, at the celebration of the Pythian games, I perceived, in a gloomy alley, a man who had the reputation of being a person of great knowledge and intelligence. He appeared to me overwhelmed with chagrin. I have dissipated, said he to me, by the exertions of reason, the illusions of all things in life. I was born with all the advantages that can flatter vanity; but, instead of enjoying them, I wished to analyse them; and, from that moment, riches, birth, and personal graces, appeared to me only as vain titles which chance had distributed among men. I attained to the first offices of magistracy in the republic, but was disgusted with the difficulty I found in doing good, and the ease with which it was in my power to do mischief. I sought glory in battle, and dyed my hands in the blood of the unfortunate, till I shuddered at my barbarous fury. I cultivated the sciences and arts: philosophy filled me with doubts: I found in eloquence only the perfidious art of deceiving men; and in poetry, music, and painting, only the puerile arts of amusing them. I aspired to obtain the esteem of the public; but seeing around me a multitude of hypocrites, who, by their pretences to virtue, secured its applause, without danger of detection, I grew careless of the public and its esteem. Nothing was now left me but a life deprived of every charm, actuated

by no motive, and which was only a tedious repetition of the same actions and the same wants.

Wearied of my existence, I travelled into distant countries. The pyramids of Egypt, at the first view, filled me with astonishment; but immediately after, I compared the pride of the monarchs who had erected them, to that of a pismire who should heap up some grains of sand in a pathway to leave to posterity some traces of his passage. The great king of Persia gave me a place at his court, and his subjects fell prostrate at my feet. Their excessive meanness only showed me the excess of their ingratitude. I returned to my country, neither admiring nor esteeming any thing, and, by a fatal consequence, no longer capable of loving any thing. When I became sensible of my error, it was no longer in my power to remedy it: but, though I do not feel a very lively affection for my fellow men, I wish my example may prove a lesson to you; for from you I have nothing to fear, since I have never been so unfortunate as to render you any service. When I was in Egypt, I was acquainted with a priest who, after having past his life in gloomy researches, endeavouring to penetrate the origin and end of all things, said to me, with a sigh: Woe to him who shall attempt to lift up the veil of Nature! And I will say: Woe to the man who shall draw aside the veil of society: woe to him who shall refuse to yield to that theatrical illusion which our prejudices and necessities have diffused over all objects! Soon shall his soul, enfeebled and languishing, find itself plunged in the

abyss of nihility, the most dreadful of all punishments. At these words tears fell from his eyes, and he hastened to conceal himself in the neighbouring wood.

You know with what precaution vessels shun those rocks which have occasioned the shipwreck of the first navigators. Thus, in my travels, I endeavoured to derive advantage from the errors of my fellow mortals. From them I learned, what I might have been taught by the least reflection, but what can never be properly known but by experience — that the excess of reason and virtue is almost as dangerous as excess in pleasures;[m] that nature has given us propensities which it is as dangerous to extinguish as to exhaust by inordinate gratification; that society had claims to my services, and that I ought to labour to acquire its esteem; in fine, that to arrive at this desirable end, which incessantly showed itself and fled before me, it was my duty to calm that inquietude which I felt in my soul, and which continually drew it out of itself.

I had never studied the symptoms of this inquietude. I perceived that in animals it was limited to the preservation of life and the propagation of the species, but that in man it subsisted after the satisfying of the first desires, and that among enlightened nations it was more general than among those which are rude and ignorant; and much more powerful and tyrannical among the rich than among the poor. It

[m] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 2. c. 2. t. ii. p. 19.

is therefore the luxury of thoughts and desires that poisons our existence: it is that insatiable luxury that is tormented in idleness, that to maintain itself feeds on our passions, and irritates them incessantly, though it gathers from them only disagreeable fruits. But why should we not furnish it with more salutary aliments? why should we not consider the agitation which we experience even in the satiety of pleasures and enjoyments as a motion impressed by nature on our hearts, to force them to approach each other, and find tranquillity in mutual union?

O humanity! sublime and generous inclination! which announces thyself in our infancy by the transports of tenderness and simplicity; in youth, by the temerity of a blind confidence; and through the whole course of our lives, by the readiness with which we contract new connections! O voice of Nature, which resoundest from one end of the universe to the other, which fillest us with remorse when we oppress our fellow-creatures, and inspirest us with the purest pleasure when we administer to them comfort! O Love! O Friendship! O Beneficence! inexhaustible sources of delicious pleasures: men are only unhappy because they refuse to listen to you. O ye gods, authors of these most valuable benefits! Instinct might, no doubt, by bringing together beings overwhelmed with wants and evils, have afforded a transient support to their weakness: but infinite goodness like yours could alone have formed the plan of uniting us by the charm of sentiment, and diffusing through those extensive

associations which cover the earth a warmth capable of eternising their duration.

Yet, instead of cherishing this sacred fire, we suffer frivolous dissensions and mean interest continually to damp its flame. If we should be told that two strangers, cast by chance on a desert island, had found in the society of each other a pleasure which indemnified them for being secluded from the rest of the world; if we should be told that there exists a family entirely occupied in strengthening the ties of consanguinity by the bonds of friendship; if we should be told that there exists, in some corner of the earth, a people who know no other law than that of loving each other, nor any other crime than that of being wanting in mutual affection; who would think of commiserating the lot of these two strangers? who would not wish to appertain to that family? who would not desire to fly to that happy climate? O mortals, ignorant and unworthy of your destiny! to obtain happiness it is not necessary to cross the seas; it may be found in all conditions of life, at all times, in all places, within yourselves, around you, and wherever you mutually love.

This law of nature, too much disregarded by our philosophers, was not neglected by the legislator of a powerful nation. Xenophon, speaking to me on a certain occasion of the education of the Persian youth, told me that, in their public schools, a tribunal was instituted, before which they came mutually to accuse each other of their faults; and that ingratitude was punished by it with the utmost severity. He added,

that under the name of *ungrateful* the Persians included all those who were guilty of offences towards the gods, their relatives, their country, or their friends.[n] This law is admirable; since it not only enjoins the practice of all our duties, but likewise renders them amiable by ascending to their origin. In fact, if they cannot be transgressed without our becoming ungrateful, it follows that it is our duty to fulfil them from a motive of gratitude; and thence results this noble and beneficial principle, that we ought only to act from sentiment.

But this doctrine is not to be held forth to those who, hurried away by violent passions, acknowledge no restraint; nor to those frigid minds who, concentered in themselves, feel only their own personal griefs. The former are to be pitied: they are made more for the happiness of others than their own. We might, perhaps, be tempted to envy the lot of the latter; for, if we could join with fortune and health a profound indifference for our fellow-creatures, which yet should be disguised under the appearance of regard, we should obtain a happiness founded alone on the moderate pleasures of sense, and which, perhaps, would be less subject to cruel vicissitudes. But does it depend on ourselves to be indifferent? If we had been destined to live in solitude on Mount Caucasus, or in the deserts of Africa, perhaps Nature would not have given us a heart of sensibility; but, had she bestowed it on us,

[n] Xen. de Instit. p. 4.

rather than not have loved, we should have endeavoured to fix our affection, and exercise our benevolence, on tigers and on stones.

We are, therefore, enforced to submit to our destiny; and, since our heart requires to be expanded, far from seeking to confine it within itself, let us increase, if possible, the warmth and activity of its motions: and, by giving them a proper direction, prevent its wanderings.

I do not propose my example as a rule; but you have wished to be informed of the system of my life. It was by studying the law of the Persians; by drawing closer and closer the ties which unite us with the gods, our relatives, our country, and our friends, that I have found the secret of at once fulfilling the duties of my condition, and satisfying the desires of my soul. Thus also was it that I learned, that the more we live for others, the more we live for ourselves.[o]

Philocles then enlarged on the necessity of calling to the aid of our reason and virtue an authority that may support their weakness. He showed to what a degree of power the soul may raise itself; which, considering all the events of life as so many laws that have emanated from the greatest and wisest of legislators, is obliged to struggle either against misfortune or prosperity. You will be useful to men, added he, if your piety be only the fruit of reflexion; but if you are so happy as to have it become a sen-

[o] Plat. epist. 9. t. iii. p. 358.

timent, you will feel a more delightful pleasure in the good you shall do unto them, and more consolation under the injustice they may make you suffer.

He was continuing to explain these truths, when he was interrupted by a Cretan youth, one of our friends, named Demophon, who had for some time assumed the title of Philosopher. He suddenly joined us; and inveighed against religious opinions with so much heat and contempt, that Philocles thought it incumbent on him to endeavour to bring him to a juster manner of thinking. But I shall reserve that part of the conversation in which this subject was discussed for the following chapter.

The ancient wisdom of nations, resumed Philocles, has, if I may so speak, confounded among the objects of public worship both the gods, the authors of our existence, and our parents from whom we derive life. Our duties with regard to both are closely connected in the codes of legislators, the writings of philosophers, and the usages of nations.

Hence that sacred custom of the Pisidians, who at their repasts begin with libations in honour of their parents; [p] and hence that beautiful thought of Plato —If the Divinity accepts the incense which you offer to the statues by which he is represented, how much more venerable, both in his eyes and yours, must those monuments of him appear that he has preserved in your houses; that father, that mother, those ancestors, formerly the living images of his

[p] Stob. Serm. 42. p. 292.

authority, and now the objects of his special protection![q] Doubt it not, he will bestow his favour on those who honour them, and punish those who neglect or insult them.[r] Do they act unjustly by you; before you make public your complaints, recollect the observation of the sage Pittacus to a young man who had commenced a prosecution against his father:—"If you are in the wrong you will be condemned; and if you are in the right you deserve to be so."[s]

But it surely cannot be necessary to insist on the reverence we owe to our parents; I shall rather choose to point out to your attention the powerful charm which nature has annexed to the inclinations necessary to our happiness.

In infancy, when all is simplicity, because all is truth, the love of our parents and relatives is expressed in transports, which become, indeed, enfeebled when the taste for pleasures and independence insinuates itself into our souls; but the principle which produced them is with difficulty extinguished. Even in those families in which it is confined to a certain degree of respect, it manifests itself by signs of indulgence or attention, which it is believed all who are united by the ties of blood owe to each other; and by returns of friendship, which the least opportunities may facilitate: it is also apparent even in those which are torn by cruel dissensions: for family hatreds only become so violent because they

[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 11. t. ii. p. 931. [r] Ap. Stob. Serm. 77. p. 454, &c. [s] Id. ibid. Serm. 77. p. 456.

are the effect of confidence betrayed, or love disappointed in its hopes.[t] For which reason it is not solely by the representation of impetuous and irregular passions that tragedy seeks to excite our emotions; she frequently exhibits to us struggles of affection between relatives suffering under misfortune; and these scenes never fail to draw tears from those who are most capable of hearing and understanding the voice of Nature.

I render thanks to the gods that my daughter has always listened to this mild and persuasive voice. I render thanks to them that I have always borrowed its accents when I have wished to instruct her in her duties; that I have ever shown myself to her as a sincere, compassionate, and incorruptible friend, more interested than herself in her benefit and improvement, and especially unimpeachably just. It is the latter quality that has produced the greatest effect on her mind. When Ismene perceived that I, in some measure, submitted to her dawning reason the decisions of my own judgment, she learned to cherish a proper esteem for herself; and became confirmed in the opinion that my age and experience had given her of the superiority of my discernment and knowledge. Instead of claiming her affection as a duty, I endeavoured to merit it; and carefully avoided imitating the conduct of those fathers and benefactors, who, by the haughtiness with which they require grateful acknowledgment, excite ingratitude.

[t] Aristot. lib. 7. c. 7. t. ii. p. 433.

I have observed the same conduct towards Leucippe her mother. I have never so relied on the consciousness of the affection I entertain for her in my heart, as to neglect those attentions by which it is manifested. When I first knew her, I wished to please her; and when I became more intimately acquainted with her, I still wished to please. It is no longer the same sentiment with that which formed our first connection, it is the highest esteem, it is the purest friendship. When our union first took place, she blushed to exercise in my house the authority which the care of a family rendered it necessary she should exert;[u] she now cherishes it because she has received it from my hand: so delightful is it to depend on the object we love, to suffer ourselves to be guided by it, and to sacrifice to it all our inclinations. These sacrifices, which we mutually make, diffuse an inexpressible charm over all our enjoyments; when they are perceived, they have received their reward; and when they are not, they appear still more delicious.

A succession of useful and varied occupations employ our time, and our days glide away in uninterrupted tranquillity. We enjoy in peace the happiness that reigns around us; and the only regret I experience is, that I am no longer able to render to my country the services that I have rendered it in my youth.

To love our country* is to exert our utmost

[u] Xen. Memor. lib. 5. p. 840. * The Greeks employed every expression of tenderness to signify the society of which

powers to render it formidable abroad, and to preserve it in peace at home. Victories or advantageous treaties acquire it the respect of foreign nations;[x] the maintenance of the laws and of manners can alone ensure internal tranquillity; while, therefore, we oppose the enemies of the state with generals and able negociators, we must also oppose licentiousness and vice, which tend to destroy every thing, by the laws and by virtue, which can alone restore what these have corrupted; and hence those numerous duties which are equally essential and indispensable to each class of citizens, and each citizen individually.

O you who are the object of these reflections! you for whose sake I now regret that I possess not sufficient eloquence to address you in a style equal to my subject, on truths the force of which I strongly feel! you, in fine, in whose breast I would wish to enkindle every praise-worthy affection, because you would thereby become more happy!—ever remember that your country has unlimited and sacred claims to your talents, your virtues, your sentiments, and your actions; that whatever your condition may be, you are only soldiers on guard, whose duty it is to watch, and fly to the assistance of your country when menaced by the smallest danger.

each of us makes a part. In general they call it *patris*, a word derived from *pater*, which in Greek signifies father. The Cretans named it *metris*, from the word which signifies mother. (Plat. de Rep. lib. 9. tom. ii. p. 575. D. Plut. an Seni. tom. ii. p. 792. E.) It appears that in certain places it was called by the name of *nurse*. (Isocr. in Paneg. t. i p. 130.) [x]Xen. Memor. lib. 4 p. 813.

To acquit yourselves of a duty so exalted, it is not sufficient that you discharge with integrity and fidelity the employments she may confide to you, that you defend her laws, discern and promote her interests, nor even that you shed your blood in the field of battle or the forum. She has an enemy more dangerous than the leagues of nations or intestine dissensions, in that slow and secret, but violent and continued war, which the vices wage against manners; a war the more to be dreaded, as she possesses not in herself any means of avoiding or supporting it. Suffer me to put in her mouth the language which, on this subject, she has a right to address to her children.[y]

You have here received life, and wise institutions have here nurtured and brought to maturity your reason. My laws watch over the safety of the meanest of the citizens; and you have all taken an oath, either tacit or express, to dedicate your lives to my service. Such are my rights. What are yours to propagate corruption of manners, which are a more solid foundation of my empire than the laws? Are you ignorant that they cannot be violated without introducing a destructive poison into the state; and that a single example of dissolute manners may corrupt a nation, and become more fatal to it than the loss of a battle?—You would respect public decency, if courage were necessary for you to brave it; but the ostentation with which you display excesses

[y] Plut. in Crit. t. i. p. 50.

that remain unpunished, is a cowardice equally contemptible and insolent.

Yet you dare to appropriate to yourselves my glory and assume consequence, in the presence of strangers,[z] because you were born in that city which has produced Solon and Aristides, and are descended from those heroes who have so often rendered my arms triumphant. But what relation is there between these sages and you? What have you in common with your ancestors? Who are the countrymen and children of those great men?—all virtuous citizens, in whatever condition of life, or after whatever interval of time, they may be born.[a]

Happy would their country be, if to the virtues by which she is honoured they did not join an inert lenity which conduces to her destruction!—Listen to my voice, in your turn, you who from age to age perpetuate the race of men precious to humanity. I have enacted laws against crimes, but I have instituted none against vices; because my vengeance can only be committed to you, and you alone can pursue them with determined hatred.[b] Far, therefore, from keeping silence, your indignation should burst in a torrent on that licentiousness by which manners are destroyed; on those acts of violence, injustice, and perfidy, which escape the vigilance of the laws; on false probity, false modesty, false friendship, and all those vile impostures which surreptitiously obtain the esteem of men.—And say not that the times are

[z] Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 95. [a] Iphicr. ap. Aristot. Rhet. lib. 2. c. 23. t. ii. p. 576. [b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 334.

changed, and that it is necessary to pay respect to the rank and influence of the offenders: a virtue destitute of energy is a virtue without principle; the moment it no longer shudders at the sight of vice, it is polluted by its contagion.

Think with what ardour you would be animated, should you be told that the enemy has taken arms, that he has advanced to your frontiers, that he is at your gates; yet he is now in the midst of you, in the senate, in the assemblies of the nation, in the tribunals, nay in your own houses. His progress is so rapid, that, unless the gods or virtuous citizens arrest his course, all hope of reformation and safety must soon be lost.[c]

If we properly felt these reproaches, society, which by our excessive compliance has become a field abandoned to tigers and serpents, might still be rendered the abode of peace and happiness.—But let us not flatter ourselves with the hope of seeing such a change. Many citizens have virtues, but nothing is so rare as a virtuous man; because to be such in reality, we must possess the courage to be virtuous at all times, in all circumstances, in defiance of all obstacles, and in contempt of the most powerful temptations of interest.

But if virtuous minds cannot join in an association against false and wicked men, let them at least unite in favour of the good; let them especially become animated by that spirit of humanity which exists in

[c] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 473. Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 487 et 497.

nature, and which it is time to restore to society, from which it has been banished by our prejudices and passions. That will teach us not to be continually at war with each other, not to confound levity of mind with wickedness of heart, to pardon failings, and to banish prejudice and distrust, the fatal sources of so many dissensions and enmities; that will also teach us that beneficence is less displayed by splendid liberalities than by the sentiment which interests us in the misfortunes of the wretched.

You every day see citizens who groan under calamity; and others who need only a word of consolation, and a friend who will sympathise with them in their sufferings: yet you ask whether you can be useful to your fellow-mortals: yet you ask whether nature has bestowed on us compensations for the evils with which she has afflicted us. Ah, did you know the delight she diffuses through those souls which obey her inspirations! If ever you should snatch a worthy man from indigence, from dishonour, from death, I call to witness the emotions you will experience: you will then be convinced that life affords moments of delicious sensibility, which may counterbalance whole years of grief and pain. Then shall you pity those who shall be alarmed at your success, or who shall forget it after having benefited by it. Fear not the envious: they shall find their punishment in their own malignity; for envy is a rust which eats into iron.[d] Fear not

[d] Menand. Carcin. et Periand. ap. Stob. Serm. 38. p. 222 et 225.

the presence of the ungrateful; they shall shun you, or rather they shall seek you, if the benefit they have received from you has been accompanied by esteem and profit; for, if you have abused the superiority it gave you, you are culpable, and those who have received your favours are only to be pitied. It has been said—he who confers a favour ought to forget it, and he on whom it is conferred ever to remember it;[e] and I will venture to affirm, that the latter will remember it if the former forgets it. Yet of what consequence is it, should I be mistaken? ought we to do good from interest?

Avoid, at once, too easily accepting favours, and mortifying those on whom you have conferred them. Persevere in rendering service to others, without requiring any thing in return, sometimes in despite of themselves, and as often as you can without their knowledge;[f] making little account of what you do for them, but annexing the highest value to what they do for you.[g]

Enlightened philosophers, after long and frequent meditation, have concluded that happiness being all action, all energy, can only be found in a soul whose emotions, directed by reason and virtue, are solely dedicated to public utility.[h]—Conformably to their opinion, I say that the ties which connect us with the gods, our relatives, and our country, are only a

[e] Demosth. de Cor. p. 517. [f] Isocr. ad Demon. t. i. p. 31. [g] Plat. de Leg. lib. 5. p. 729. [h] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 1. c. 6. t. ii. p. 9. E. Id. lib. 10. c. 6. p. 136; c. 7, 8, &c. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 150. Id. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 3. p. 428. D.

chain of duties which it is our interest to animate with sentiment, and which nature has provided for us to exercise and appease the activity of our souls. In fulfilling them with ardour consists that wisdom of which, according to Plato, we should be passionately enamoured, if its beauty were revealed to our eyes.[i] Of what an exalted nature is this love! it never shall end: our taste for the sciences, the arts, or for pleasure, insensibly decays; but how can the soul be satiated, which, converting into a habit the virtues useful to society, renders them necessary to it, and every day finds a new pleasure in their practice?

Believe not that its happiness terminates with the delicious sensations which flow from the discharge of these duties: it has other sources of felicity, no less abundant and no less durable. Such is the public esteem;[k] that esteem which we cannot neglect to aspire to, without confessing that we are unworthy of it; which is due only to virtue, on which sooner or later it is bestowed, and which it indemnifies for all the sacrifices it has made, and every reverse of fortune it may have experienced. Such also is our own esteem, the noblest of the privileges granted to human nature, the purest passion of the virtuous soul, and the liveliest desire of the soul of sensibility, without which we cannot be the friends of ourselves, and with which we may disregard the approbation of others, should they be so unjust as to

[i] Plut. in Phæd. t. ii. p. 250. [k] Xen. Mem. lib. 2. p. 737.

refuse it to us. Such, lastly, is that sentiment which is the ornament and comfort of life, and of which it remains for me to speak.

I shall continue to declare to you common truths; but, if they were not such, they would be but of little utility to you.

In one of the islands of the Ægean sea, in the midst of some ancient poplars, an altar was formerly dedicated to Friendship. Day and night ascended from it a pure incense, grateful to the goddess. But soon it was surrounded by mercenary worshippers, in whose hearts she beheld only interested and ill-assorted connexions. One day she said to a favourite of Crœsus—Carry thy offerings elsewhere; they are not addressed to me, but to Fortune. She answered an Athenian who put up vows for Solon, of whom he called himself the friend—By connecting thyself with a wise man, thou wishest to partake in his glory, and cause thy own vices to be forgotten. She said to two women of Samos, who affectionately embraced each other near her altar—A love for pleasure apparently unites you; but your hearts are corroded by jealousy, and soon shall they be rent with hatred.

At length, two Syracusans, Damon and Phintias,[1] both educated in the principles of Pythagoras, came to prostrate themselves before the goddess. I receive

[1] Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Val. p. 242. Plut. de Amicor. Multit. tom. ii. page 93. Iambl. c. 33. p. 189. Porphyr. de Vit. Pythag. p. 54. Cicer. de Offic. lib. 3. cap. 10. t. iii. p. 269. Id. Tuscul. lib. 5. c. 22. t. ii. p. 379. Val. Max. lib. 4. c. 7. Extern. No. 1.

your homage, said she to them. I will do more; I abandon a place too long polluted by sacrifices that are offensive to me, and wish no other asylum than your hearts. Go, and show to the tyrant of Syracuse, to the whole world, and to posterity, what friendship can effect in souls which I have animated with my power.

On their return, Dionysius, on some frivolous charge, condemned Phintias to death. He requested that he might be permitted to go and regulate some important affairs which required his presence in a neighbouring city. He promised to return at an appointed day; and departed, after Damon had engaged to answer with his life for the fulfilment of his promise.

In the mean time, the affairs of Phintias unavoidably compel his stay longer than he had expected. The day on which he is to die arrives; the people assemble; some blame, and others pity Damon, who walks to execution serene and unmoved, too certain that his friend will return, and deeming himself too happy should he not. Already the fatal moment approaches; when a thousand tumultuous shouts announce the arrival of Phintias. He runs, he flies, to the place of punishment; he sees the sword suspended over the head of his friend: and, in the midst of embraces and tears, they contend for the happiness of dying for each other. The spectators dissolve in tears; the king himself descends from his throne, and earnestly intreats them to suffer him to participate in so noble a friendship.

After this scene, which should have been pourtrayed with a pencil of fire, it is unnecessary to dwell on the eulogium of friendship, or on the advantages it may bestow in all conditions and circumstances of life.[m]

Almost all those who speak of this sentiment confound it with the connexions which are the offspring of chance, and the work of a day.[n] In the fervour of these unions at their first birth, we behold our friends such as we would wish them to be; but soon after we see them such as they really are,[o] Each succeeding choice is not more happy; and we resolve to renounce friendship, or, which is the same thing, incessantly to change its object.[p]

As almost all men pass the greater part of their lives without reflexion, and the remainder employ their thoughts on others rather than on themselves, they are but little acquainted with the nature of the connexions they contract. Should they dare to interrogate themselves concerning that multitude of friends by which they sometimes imagine they are surrounded, they would perceive that these friends are united to them only by deceitful appearances. This discovery would pierce them with grief; for of what value is life without friends?[q] But it would cause them to make a choice at which they should not afterwards have occasion to blush.

[m] Xen. Memor. lib. 2. p. 746. Aristot. de Mor. lib. 8. c. 1. t. ii. p. 101. [n] Id. ibid. c. 4. p. 104. [o] Id. ibid. lib. 9. c. 3. p. 118. [p] Isocr. ad. Demon. t. i. p. 30. [q] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 8. c. 1. t. ii. p. 101. B.

Wit, talents, a taste for the arts, and splendid endowments, are very agreeable in the intercourse of friendship; they animate and embellish it when it is formed, but they cannot of themselves prolong its duration.

Friendship can only be founded on the love of virtue,[r] on flexibility of character, on conformity of principles, and on a certain charm which anticipates reflection, and which reflection afterwards justifies.

Were I to lay down rules for you on this subject, they should be less directed to teach you to make a good choice, than to prevent you from making a bad one.

It is almost impossible that friendship should be established between two persons of different, and too disproportionate, conditions. Kings are too great to have friends.[s] Those who surround them commonly behold only rivals in their equals, and flatterers in those beneath them. In general, we are inclined to choose our friends from among our inferiors, either because we can rely more on their complaisance, or because we flatter ourselves we shall be more beloved.[t] But as friendship renders all things common, and requires equality, you will not choose your friends from a rank too much above, nor from one too much below, your own.[u]

[r] Plat. Epist. 7. tom. iii. p. 332. Xen. Mem. lib. 2. p. 751. Aristot. de Mor. lib. 8. c. 4. p. 103. [s] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 8. c. 9. t. ii. p. 108. A. [t] Id. ibid. c. 9, 10. [u] Pythag. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 10. Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. tom. ii. p. 757. Aristot. ibid. c. 7. p. 106.

Before you form a close connexion with men whose interest, with regard to power, fame, or fortune, are the same with yours, prove them by repeated trials.[x] Incredible efforts will be necessary to preserve, for any length of time, unions which are perpetually exposed to the dangers of jealousy; and we ought not to presume so much on our virtue, as to make our happiness depend on a continued series of conflicts and victories.

Distrust too extravagant an ardour, and protestations too exaggerated: they derive their source from a falsehood which rends the soul of truth and simplicity. How is it possible they should not be suspected in prosperity, when they may be so even in adversity? for the compassion which is affected for the wretched, is frequently only an artifice to gain the attention and favour of the happy and prosperous.[y]

Distrust also those acts of friendship which sometimes escape a heart unworthy to experience that sentiment. Nature presents to our eyes a certain external derangement, a succession of apparent contradictions, from which she derives the greatest advantage. We sometimes see gleams of equity burst forth in a soul devoted to injustice, a ray of wisdom illumine a mind abandoned to folly, and acts of humanity performed by a harsh and ferocious character. These particles of virtue, detached from their principles, and skilfully scattered in the midst of vices, inces-

[x] Xen. Mem. lib. 2. p. 751. Aristot. de Rhet. lib. 2. c. 10. p. 562. Isocr. ad Demon. t. i. p. 31. [y] Aristot. Eudem. lib. 7. c. 1. t. ii. p. 270.

santly testify in favour of that order which they maintain. Friendship, therefore, requires not one of those fervours of the imagination which grow old at the moment they take birth,[z] but an equable and continued warmth of sentiment; when long trials[a] have only served to render this more lively and active, the choice is made, and we begin to live in another self.

From that moment the misfortunes we suffer are divided and enfeebled, and the good we enjoy is multiplied.[b] Behold a man in affliction: observe the comforters whom a regard to propriety brings around him. What constraint in their manner! What falsehood in their language? But the tears, the expression, or silence, of real grief are wanting to the wretched. On the other side, two true friends would imagine they were guilty of a robbery were either to taste pleasures without the knowledge of the other: and when they are necessitated to do this, the first feeling of their souls is to regret the absence of an object, which, by dividing the enjoyment, would render it more lively and profound. It is the same with honours and all distinctions, which ought only to be pleasing to us so far as they justify the esteem our friends entertain for us.

They enjoy a still more noble privilege; that of instructing and honouring us by their virtues. If it be true that we learn to become virtuous by fre-

[z] Eurip. in Hercul. Fur. v. 1223. [a] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 8. c. 4. t. ii. p. 104. [b] Xen. Mem. lib. 2, p. 747.

quenting the company of those who are so;[c] what emulation, what power, ought not examples so precious to our hearts to inspire! How great must be the pleasure of our friends, when they see us follow in their footsteps! What a tender sensation of affection and delight must we experience, when by their conduct they enforce the public admiration![d]

Those who are the friends of every body, are so to nobody: they seek only to render themselves agreeable.[e] You will be happy if you can acquire a few friends;[f] perhaps, even, they should be reduced to a single one, if you would wish to enjoy friendship in all the perfection of which it is capable.[g]

If those various questions, which philosophers discuss concerning friendship, were propounded to me;[h] if I were asked for rules by which to know its duties, and prolong its duration; I would reply, Make a good choice, and afterwards rely on your own sentiments, and on those of your friends; for the decision of the heart is ever more prompt and clear than that of the judgment.

It was, no doubt, in a nation already corrupted, that some one dared to utter these words: "Love your friends as if you were one day to hate them;"[i]

[c] Theogn. ap. Aristot. de Mor. lib. 9. c. 9. p. 126. [d] Xen. Mirab. lib. 2. p. 753. E. [e] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 9. c. 10. p. 127. D. [f] Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 2. c. 16. p. 194. [g] Id. de Mor. lib. 8. c. 7. p. 106. [h] Id. ibid. c. 2. p. 102. Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 187. Id. Eudem. lib. 7. c. 1. p. 268. [i] Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 690. Cicer. de Amicit. c. 16 t. iii. p. 341. Aul. Gell. lib. 17. c. 14.

a vile maxim, for which this other, more consoling, and perhaps more ancient, should be substituted: "Hate your enemies as if you were one day to love them." [k]

Let it not be said that friendship, carried to excess, becomes a punishment; and that we have a sufficient number of evils to bear, which are personal to us, without participating in the misfortunes of others. Those are acquainted with this sentiment, who fear its consequences. Other passions are accompanied with torments; but friendship only has pains which draws its bonds still closer. But if death —Let us banish ideas so melancholy, or rather let us profit by them, to become intimately convinced of two great truths; the one, that we ought to have the same idea of our friends during their lives, that we should entertain were we to be deprived of them; the other, which is a consequence of the former, that we ought to remember them not only when they are absent, but also when they are at present.

Thus shall we dissipate those suspicions and fears to which negligence gives birth; thus shall calmly glide away those happy moments, the most blissful of our lives, in which undisguised hearts know how to render important the slightest attentions; and in which silence itself proves that souls may be happy by the mere presence of each other; for this silence produces neither disgust nor weariness: nothing is said, but they are together.

[k] Zaleuc. ap. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 85. Aristot. de Rhet. lib. 2. c. 21. p. 572.

There are likewise other connexions which we are obliged to contract in society, and which it is advantageous to cultivate. Such are those which are founded on esteem and on taste. Though they have not the same claims as friendship, they yet afford us a powerful aid to support the weight of life.

Think not that it is virtue to deny yourselves the harmless pleasures suited to your age and circumstances. Wisdom is only amiable and solid by the happy mixture of the amusements it permits, and the duties it enjoins.

If to the resources I have enumerated, you add that hope which still comforts us under all the misfortunes we can experience, you will find, Lysis, that Nature has not treated us with that severity with which she is charged. To conclude, consider the preceding reflections only as an elucidation of the following: It is in the heart that every man resides, and there alone must he seek his tranquillity and happiness.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE TO DELOS.

On Religious Opinions.

I HAVE said that the discourse of Philocles was interrupted by the arrival of Demophon. We had seen, at a distance, this young man conversing with a philosopher of the Elean school. Having informed himself of the subject of our conversation, he exclaimed—We must expect happiness only from ourselves. I had still some doubts, but they are now removed; I maintain that there are no gods, or that they do not concern themselves with the affairs of men.—My son, replied Philocles, I have known many persons who, though at your age they were seduced by this new doctrine, abjured it when they had no longer any interest to maintain it.[a]—Demophon protested that he would never alter his opinion; and enlarged on the absurdities of the popular religion, treating with contempt the ignorance of the multitude, and our prejudices with derision.[b]—Hear me, answered Philocles: as we make no arrogant pretensions, we deserve not to be mortified. If we are in an error, it is your duty to pity and to instruct us; for true philosophy is mild, com-

[a] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 888. A. [b] Id. ibid. p. 885.

passionate, and especially modest. Declare to us without reserve what is the doctrine which she teaches us by you.—I will tell you, replied the young man: Nature and Chance have arranged in order all the parts of the universe: and the policy of legislators has subjected societies to laws.[c] These secrets are now revealed.

Philocles. You seem to be elated with this discovery.

Demophon. And have I not reason?

Philocles. I should think not; it may indeed alleviate the remorse of the guilty, but it cannot but deject the virtuous man.

Demophon. Why, in what can it be detrimental to him?

Philocles. Let us suppose that a nation existed which had no idea of the Divine Being: and that a stranger suddenly appearing in one of their assemblies should thus address them: You admire the wonders of nature, without ascending to their author, I declare to you that they are the work of an intelligent being, who watches over their preservation, and who views you as his children. You consider all virtues which are unknown as useless, and all offences which escape punishment as excuseable: I proclaim to you that an invisible judge is ever present with us, and that those actions which meet not the reward or the vengeance of men are not concealed from his sight. You imagine that your existence is confined to the

[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 889.

few moments which you pass on earth, and the end of which you view with a secret dread: I make known to you, that, after death, an existence of happiness or misery shall be the lot of the virtuous or vicious man.—Tell me, Demophon, can you doubt that the good and virtuous part of such a people, prostrate at the feet of their new legislator, would receive his doctrine with avidity, and experience the most cruel disappointment and grief if ever they should afterwards be compelled to renounce it?

Demophon. They would experience that regret which we feel when we are awakened from a pleasing dream.

Philocles. So I think. But, in fine, should you dispel this dream, would you not have to reproach yourself with having deprived the unhappy mortal of that error which produced a suspension of his sufferings? and would not he himself accuse you of having left him without defence against the assaults of fortune and the wickedness of men?

Demophon. I would elevate his soul by strengthening his reason; I would shew him that true courage consists in calmly submitting to necessity.

Philocles. What strange consolation! might he exclaim: I am bound down with bands of iron on the rock of Prometheus; and while the vulture is tearing my entrails, you coldly advise me to repress my complaints. Alas! if the woes I endure proceed not from a hand which I may at once reverence and love, I can only consider myself as the sport of Fortune, and the scorn of Nature. The insect, when it

suffers, at least has no cause to blush at the triumph of its enemies, nor at the insult offered to its weakness. But, besides the evils that are common to me and to the reptile, I possess that reason which is more cruel than all these, and which incessantly renders them more poignant by the foresight of their consequences, and the comparison of my own condition with that of my fellow-beings.

How much would my affliction have been alleviated by that philosophy which you have treated as gross and false! and according to which nothing happens in this world, but by the direction, or with the permission, of a Supreme Being.[d] I should have been ignorant why he had ordained me to be unhappy; but since I should have believed that he beneath whose hand I suffered was at the same time the author of my existence, I should have found reason to hope that he would soothe the bitterness of my pains, either during my life or after my death.[e] And how, in fact, could it be possible, under the government of the best of masters, at once to be actuated by the most exalted hope, and to be wretched?—Could you, Demophon, have the cruelty to reply to these complaints by an insulting contempt, or by frigid pleasantries?

Demophon. I would reply by proposing the example of some philosophers who have supported the enmity of men, poverty, exile, and eevry kind of persecution, rather than renounce the truth.

[d] Theogn. Sent. 165. [e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 613. A. Id. de Leg. lib. 5. p. 732. D.

Philocles. They maintained the contest in the face of the sun, on a spacious theatre, in the presence of the world and of prosperity. Such a situation, and spectators so numerous, inspire courage.[f] But the man who groans in obscurity, and whose tears flow unobserved, he it is who needs support.

Demophon. I consent then to leave to feeble minds that support which you would wish to provide for them.

Philocles. It will be equally necessary to them, to enable them to resist the violence of their passions.

Demophon. Perhaps so. But I shall always maintain that vigorous minds, without the fear of the gods, or the hope of the approbation of men, may endure with resignation all the persecutions of Fate, and even perform the most painful acts of the most rigid virtue.

Philocles. You allow then that our prejudices are necessary to the greater part of the human race; and on this point you agree with all legislators.[g] Let us now examine if they would not also be useful to those privileged minds who pretend to possess in their virtues alone an invincible strength. You are, no doubt, of this number; and as you can reason closely, let us begin with comparing our opinions with yours.

We say that men owe obedience to laws which

[f] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. tom. ii. p. 604. A. [g] Hippod. de Rep. ap. Stob. lib. 41. p. 250. Zaleuc. ibid. p. 279. Charond. ibid. lib. 42. p. 289. Hermipp. app. Porph. de Abstin. lib. 4.

existed antecedently to every human institution.[h] These laws, proceeding from that Intelligence which formed and still preserves the universe, are the relations which we bear to that exalted Being, and to our fellow-creatures. We violate them when we commit an act of injustice, and offend both against society and against the first author of the order by which society is maintained.

You say, on the contrary, The right of the strongest is the only notion which nature has engraven in my heart.[i] The distinction between justice and injustice, virtue and vice, originates not from her, but from positive laws. My actions, indifferent in themselves, are only transformed into crimes in consequence of the arbitrary conventions of men.[k]

Let us now suppose that we both act conformably to our principles; and that we are placed in one of those situations, in which virtue, surrounded by temptations, has need of her utmost strength. On the one hand, honours, riches, and every kind of influence and distinction, invite; and, on the other, we are threatened with the loss of life, our families must be abandoned to indigence, and our memory stigmatized with opprobrium. Choose, Demophon; you are only required to commit an act of injustice. Observe that you shall possess the ring which ren-

[h] Xen. Memor. lib. 4. page 807. Arist. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. c. 34. t. ii. p. 106. E. Id. Rhet. lib. 1. c. 13. t. ii. p. 541. A. Cudworth. de Ætern. Inst. et Honest. Notion. tom. ii. p. 628. [i] Ap. Plat. de Leg. t. ii. p. 890. Ap. Aristot. ibid. [k] Theod. ap. Laërt. lib. 2. § 99. Id. ap. Suid. in Εκωρ.

dered Gyges invisible:[l] I mean that the author, the accomplice of your crime, shall be a thousand times more interested than yourself eternally to conceal it. But, even though it shall be discovered, what have you to dread? The laws? they shall be silenced. The opinion of the public? that shall only turn against you if you resist. Are you awed by the bonds which unite you to society? that society itself is about to break them, by abandoning you to the persecution of the man in power. By the remorse of conscience? mere childish prejudice! which must be dissipated when you shall reflect on that maxim of your writers and politicians—that the justice or injustice of an action ought only to be estimated by the advantages which are derived from it."

Demophon. More noble motives would suffice to restrain me—the love of order, the beauty of virtue, and self-esteem.

Philocles. If these respectable motives are not animated by a supernatural principle, how much is it to be feared that such feeble reeds should break beneath the hand which they sustain! Is it to be supposed that you will believe yourself to be invincibly bound by chains which you yourself have forged, and of which you keep the key? Will you sacrifice to abstractions of the mind, and factitious sentiments your life, and all that you hold most dear in the world? In the state of degradation to which you are reduced—shade, dust, insect—under which

[l] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. page 612. [m] Lysand. ap. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 229.

of these titles will you pretend that your virtues are of any importance, that you have need of your own esteem, or that the preservation of order depends on the choice that you are about to make? No; never can you aggrandise nihility by bestowing on it pride; never can a transient fanaticism supply the place of the real love of justice; and that powerful law which compels all animals to prefer their own preservation to that of all the rest of the universe, can only be annulled or modified by another law still more powerful.

As to us, nothing can justify vice in our eyes, because our duties are never in opposition to our true interests. Though our insignificancy hide us in the bosom of the earth, or our power raise us to the skies,[n] we are ever in the presence of a judge who beholds our actions and our thoughts,[o] and who alone gives a sanction to order, powerful charms to virtue, a real dignity to man, and a legitimate foundation to the esteem he entertains for himself. I respect positive laws, because they flow from those which God has deeply imprinted on my heart;[p] I aspire to the approbation of my fellow-mortals, because, like me, they bear in their minds a ray of his light, and in their souls the germs of the virtue of which he inspires them with the desire. Lastly, I fear the remorse of conscience: because that would degrade me from the elevation to which I attain by acting conformably to the will of the Supreme Being.

[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 905. [o] Xen. Memor. lib. 1. p. 728. C. [p] Archyt. ap. Stob. serm. 41. p. 267.

Thus I have every counterpoise which sustains you when on the brink of the abyss; and possess besides a superior force, which enables these to make a more vigorous resistance.

Demophon. I have known many persons who neither believed in a Deity nor a future life, and yet whose moral conduct has never been liable to the smallest censure.[q]

Philocles. And I could produce to you a still greater number who believed in both, and who yet have ever acted as knaves and villains. What are we to conclude from this? That they both equally acted contrary to their principles:—the former when they did good, the latter when they committed evil. Such inconsistencies cannot establish rules. The question is to know whether a virtue, founded on laws which it is believed had their origin in the will of the Divine Being, will not be more pure, solid, consolatory, and easy in practice, than a virtue solely established on the changeable opinions of men.

Demophon. I, in my turn, shall ask you, whether true morality can ever be made to accord with a religion which tends only to destroy morals? and whether the supposition of a multitude of unjust and cruel gods be not the most extravagant idea that ever entered into the human mind? We deny their existence: you have shamefully degraded them; you are therefore more impious than we.[r]

[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 908. B. Clem. Alex. in Protrept. tom. i. p. 20, 21. [r] Plut. de Superst. tom. ii. p. 169. F. Bayle. Pens. sur la Com. t. i. § 116.

Philocles. These gods are the work of our hands, since they have our imperfections. We feel greater indignation than you at the vices and frailties which have been attributed to them. But, if we should be able to purify religious worship from the superstitions by which it is disfigured, would you be more disposed to render to the Divine Being the homage which is due to him from mortals!

Demophon. Prove that he exists, and that he extends his care to men, and I will prostrate myself before him.

Philocles. It is for you to prove that he does not exist, since you attack an opinion which has been received among all nations during a long succession of ages. For my part, I only mean to repress the air of raillery and insult which you at first assumed. I began by making a comparison between your doctrine and ours, as we should compare two systems of philosophy. The result of this parallel would have been, that every man being, according to your writers, the measure of all things, ought to refer every thing to himself alone;[s] but that, according to us, the measure of all things being God himself,[t] he should be the model by which we should regulate our sentiments and actions.[u]

You ask me what monument attests the existence of the Deity? I answer—the universe;—the dazzling splendour and majestic progress of the heavenly

[s] Protag. ap. Plat. in Thæt. tom. i. p. 167 et 170. E. Sext. Empir. Pyrrhon. Hypoth. lib. 1. c. 32. p. 55. [t] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 716. D. [u] Id. Epist. 8. t. iii. p. 354. E.

bodies ;—the organisation of animals ;—the correspondence of that innumerable multitude of beings ; —in fine, this whole, and its admirable parts, which all bear the impress of a divine hand ;—in which all is grandeur, wisdom, proportion, and harmony. I will add the concurrence of all nations ;[x] not to compel you to acquiescence by authority, but because their belief, constantly maintained by the cause which first produced it, is an incontestible proof of the impression which the enchanting beauties of nature have ever made on all minds.[y]

Reason, co-operating with my senses, likewise points out to me the most excellent of artificers in the most magnificent of works. I view a man walking, and I infer that he has within him an active principle. His steps conduct him wherever he wishes to go : and I thence conclude that this principle adapts the means to the end which it proposes. —Let us apply this example. All nature is in motion :—there is therefore a first mover. This motion is subjected to a constant order ;—a Supreme Intelligence therefore exists. Here ends the ministry of my reason : should I suffer it to proceed farther, I should come at last, like many philosophers, to doubt of my own existence. Even those among the philosophers who maintain that the world has existed from eternity, nevertheless admit a first cause ;

[x] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 886. Aristot. de Cœlo. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. i. p. 434. E. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 17. t. ii. p. 411. [y] Plat. ibid. Aristot. ap. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. c. 37. t. ii. p. 464.

for, according to them, it is impossible to concei succession of regular motions, performed in conc without admitting an intelligent moving power.

Demophon. These proofs, however, have prevented the progress of atheism.

Philocles. That is only to be ascribed to presu tion and ignorance.

Demophon. It is to be ascribed to the writing the philosophers. You are acquainted with tl sentiments on the existence and nature of the Div Being.*

Philocles. They have been suspected and accu of atheism,[b] because they have not paid suffici respect to the opinions of the multitude: beca they have ventured to lay down principles of wh they foresaw not the consequences; and because explaining the formation and mechanism of universe, too closely following the method of natural philosophers, they have not called in aid of a supernatural cause. There are some them, but the number is very small, who expre reject this cause, and their solutions are equa incomprehensible and insufficient.

Demophon. They are not more so than the id which are entertained of the Divinity. His essei is unknown, and I can never believe in that which I have no knowledge.

Philocles. You advance a false principle. D

[z] Arist. Metaph. lib. 14. c. 7, &c. t. ii. p. 1000. [a] Plat. Leg. lib. 10. p. 886. * See note II. [b] Bayle, Contin. Pens. sur la Com. t. iii. § 21 et 26.

not Nature incessantly present you with impenetrable mysteries? You grant that matter exists, without having a knowledge of its essence. You know that your arm obeys your will, though you cannot perceive the connection between the cause and the effect.

Demophon. Sometimes we are told of one God, and sometimes of many. The attributes of the Deity appear to me equally imperfect and contradictory. His wisdom requires that he should maintain order on the earth; but disorder every where conspicuously triumphs. He is just; yet I suffer undeservedly.

Philocles. In the origin of societies, it was believed that genii, placed in the stars, watched over the government of the universe; and as they were supposed to be invested with great power, they obtained the adoration of mortals, and the sovereign was almost every where neglected for his ministers.

The remembrance of him was however still preserved among all nations.[c] You will find vestiges of it, more or less apparent, in the most ancient monuments; and the most express testimonies in the writings of the modern philosophers. Observe the superiority which Homer assigns to one of the objects of public worship; Jupiter is the father of gods and men. Examine all Greece: you will find the one Supreme Being has been long adored in Arcadia,

[c] Acts, ch. x. ver. 35; chap. xvii. v. 23—28. Romans, ch. i. ver. 25. Jablonsk. Panth. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 38. Id. in Proleg. § 22. Freret. Defens. de la Chronologie, p. 335. Bruck. Hist. Phil. t. 1. p. 469. Cudw. c. 4. § 14, &c. &c.

under the name of the God *good* by pre-eminence;[d] and in several cities under that of the Most High,[e] or the Most Great.[f]

Afterwards, hear Timæus, Anaxagoras, and Plato: they will tell you that it was the one Divine Being who reduced the chaos to order, and formed the world.[g]

Listen to Antisthenes, the disciple of Socrates; —Many gods are adored among different nations, but Nature indicates only one.[h]

Lastly, consult the philosophers of the Pythagorean school, who all have considered the universe as an army which performs its motions as directed by the general; or as a vast empire, in which the supreme power resides in the sovereign.[i]

But whence is it that men have given to the genii, who are subordinate to the Deity, a title which appertains to him alone?—Because, by an abuse which has long been introduced into all languages, the expressions *god* and *divine* frequently only signify a superiority of rank, or excellence in merit, and are every day lavished on princes whom he has invested

[d] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 36. p. 673. Macrob. in Somn. Scip. lib. 1. c. 2. [e] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 62; lib. 5. cap. 15. p. 414; lib. 8. cap. 2. p. 600; lib. 9. c. 8. p. 728. [f] Id. lib. 10. c. 37. p. 893. [g] Tim. de Anim. Mund. Plat. in Tim. Anaxag. ap. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 881. [h] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 13. t. ii. p. 407. Lac. tant. Instit. Divin. lib. 1. c. 5. t. i. p. 18. Id. de Ira Dei. c. 11. t. ii. p. 153. Plat. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 420. [i] Archyt. de Doct. Mor. ap. Stob. serm. 1. p. 15. Onat. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 4. Stheneid. ap. Stob. serm. 46. p. 332. Diotog. ibid. p. 330.

with his power, minds which he has illuminated with his light, or works which have proceeded from his hands, or from those of men.[k] He is, in fact, so exalted and so great, that we have no other means of magnifying human grandeur, but by comparing it to his; and, on the other hand, we find it difficult to conceive that he either can or will deign to cast his eyes on us.

You deny his immensity; but have you never reflected on the multiplicity of objects which your mind and senses are able at once to comprehend? What! shall your sight without difficulty extend to a great number of stadia, and shall not be able, with a glance, to penetrate infinity? You are able to fix your attention, almost in the same instant, on Greece, Sicily, or Egypt; and shall it not be possible that his should extend through the whole universe?[l]

You assign limits to his power, as if he could be great without being good. Can you believe that he blushes at his work? that an insect, or even a blade of grass, are despicable in his sight? that he has endowed man with so many eminent qualities,[m] that he has implanted in him the desire, necessity, and hope of knowing him, to remove him for ever from his sight? No; never can I be induced to believe that the father can forget his children; or that, by a negligence incompatible with his perfections,[n] he

[k] Menand. ap. Stob. serm. 32. p. 213. Cleric. Ars. Critic. sect. 1. cap. 3. t. i. p. 2. Moshem in Cudw. c. 4. § 5. p. 271.
[l] Xen. Mem. lib. 1. p. 728. [m] Id. ibid. p. 725, 726. [n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 902.

will not deign to preserve that order which he has preserved in the universe.

Demophon. If that order originated from him, why is there so much guilt and misery to be found on the earth? If he cannot prevent these, where is his power? or, if he will not, where is his justice?

Philocles. I expected this objection; it has frequently been made, and will be repeated in every age; it is indeed the only one which can be adduced against us. If all men were happy, they would not revolt against the author of their existence; but they suffer beneath his eyes, and he appears to abandon them. Here my reason is confounded; and I interrogate the traditions of antiquity, all of which depose in favour of a Providence. I interrogate the sages, who almost all agree fundamentally in the doctrine though they hesitate and differ in the manner in which they explain it. Many of them, convinced that to limit the justness or goodness of God would be to annihilate those attributes, have rather chosen to admit bounds to his power. Some say, God works only to produce good; but matter, by a viciousness inherent in its nature, occasions evil, by resisting the will of the Supreme Being.[p] Others say, that the divine influence extends in its full effect to the sphere of the moon, but acts only feebly in the inferior regions.[q] Others assert, that God directs affairs o

[o] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 2. t. ii. p. 398. [p] Plat. i Tim. passim. [q] Ocell. Lucan. c. 2. Arist. de Culp. lib. 2 c. 1. t. i. p. 453. Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. c. 1. t. i. p. 97(Moshem. in Cudw. c. 1. § 45. Not. S.

consequence, but neglects those of less moment.[r] Lastly, there are some who afford a ray of light to guide me through the darkness by which I am surrounded. Feeble mortals, exclaim they, cease to consider as real evils, poverty, sickness, and all the external misfortunes that assail you. These accidents, which by your resignation may be converted into benefits, are only the consequences of the laws necessary to the preservation of the universe. You make a part of the general system of things, but you are only a part. You were created for the whole, and not the whole for you.[s]

Thus all is good in nature, except in the class of beings where every thing ought to be best. Inanimate bodies obey without resistance the motions impressed on them; animals, destitute of reason, yield without reluctance to the instinct which impels them: men alone are equally distinguished by their vices and their understanding. Are they the slaves of necessity, like the rest of nature? Why are they able to resist their inclinations? Why have they received those rights which lead them astray—that desire to attain to the knowledge of their Maker—those ideas of good—that most fatal, if it be not the most noble of all gifts, the propensity to commiserate the woes of their fellow-creatures? When we consider these various privileges by which they are essentially characterised, ought we not to conclude

[r] Ap. Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 901. Ap. Aristot. de Mundo. c. 6. t. i. p. 611. Eurip. ap. Plut. de Reip. Ger. t. ii. p. 811. [s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 903.

that God, from views which it is not permitted us to penetrate, has intended to subject to the most rigid trials the power which we possess of deliberating and choosing? Yes; if there be virtues on earth, there is justice in heaven. He who pays not a tribute to the law, owes to the law a satisfaction.[t] Man begins his life in this world, and continues it in an abode where innocence receives the reward of its sufferings, and where the guilty expiate their crimes till they are purified from their pollution.

Thus, Demophon, do our sages justify Providence. They acknowledge no other evil to which we are exposed than vice; and know no other explanation of the difficulty it occasions, than a futurity in which all things shall be restored to order. To ask, at present, why God has not prevented evil in its origin, is to ask why he has made the universe according to his views, and not according to ours.

Demophon. Religion is only on absurd mixture of mean ideas and minute ceremonies. As if there were not tyrants enough on earth, you have filled with them the heavens. You surround me with inspectors jealous of each other, eager to obtain my presents, and to whom I can only offer the homage of a servile fear. The worship which they require is only a shameful traffic; they bestow on you riches, and you give them victims.[u] Man, when debased by superstition, is the vilest of slaves. Your philosophers themselves have not insisted on the necessity

[t] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. page 905. [u] Id. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 14. C.

of acquiring virtue before we present ourselves before the Divine Being, or of requesting it of him in our prayers.[x]

Philocles. I have already said that our public worship is grossly disfigured, and that my design was simply to explain to you the relations which exist between man and the Divinity. Retain your doubts of these relations, if you are so blind as not to discern them; but say not that we degrade our souls when we separate them from the mass of beings, assign to them the most illustrious of origins and destinies, and establish between them and the Supreme Being an intercourse of benefits and gratitude.

Do you wish for a pure and celestial morality which may exalt your mind and sentiments? study the doctrine and conduct of Socrates, who only beheld in his condemnation, imprisonment, and death, the decrees of an infinitely wise Being, and did not even deign to complain of the injustice of his enemies.

At the same time contemplate with Pythagoras the laws of universal harmony,[y] and incessantly have before your eyes the regularity in the distribution of the different worlds, and the disposition of the heavenly bodies: the concurrence of all wills in a wisely-governed republic, and of all the passions and

[x] Bayle, Contin. des Pensées, t. iii. § 51, 54, &c. [y] Theag. ap. Stob. serm. 1. p. 11. Criton. ibid. serm. 3. p. 43. Polus ibid. serm. 9. p. 105. Diotog. ibid. serm. 46. p. 330. Hippodam. ibid. serm. 101. p. 555. Ocell. ibid. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 32.

emotions in a virtuous soul; all beings labouring in concert for the maintenance of order, and order preserving the universe and its minutest parts; a God the author of this sublime plan, and men destined by their virtues to be subservient to him, and co-operate with him in his great design. Never did system display more genius, or give a more exalted idea of the grandeur and dignity of man.

Permit me still to proceed: since you attack our philosophers, it is my duty to defend them. The youth Lysis is instructed in their opinions, if I may judge from the preceptors who have had the care of his education. I will interrogate him on the different articles which have been the subject of this conversation, and you shall hear his answers. You will thus obtain a succinct view of the whole of our doctrine; and be enabled to judge whether reason, left to itself, could possibly have conceived a system more worthy of the Divine Being, or of greater utility to mankind.*

Philocles. Tell me, Lysis, who formed the world?

Lysis. God.[z]

Philocles. How did he form it?

Lysis. By an effect of his goodness.[a]

Philocles. What is God?

Lysis. That which has neither beginning nor end:[b]

* See Note III. [z] Tim. Loc. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 94. Plat. in Tim. ibid. p. 30. &c. Id. ap. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 8. tom. ii. p. 403. [a] Plat. in Tim. ibid. p. 29. E. [b] Thal. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 1. § 36.

the eternal,[c] necessary, immutable, and intelligent Being.[d]

Philocles. Can we attain to the knowledge of his essence?

Lysis. His essence is incomprehensible and ineffable,[e] but he speaks distinctly by his works:[f] and his language bears the character of great truths, because it is intelligible to the whole world: a more refulgent light would be useless to us, and doubtless would neither accord with his plan nor our weakness. Who, in fact, can say but the impatience we feel to elevate ourselves to him may be a presage of the destiny that awaits us? And if indeed it be true, as has been said, that he is ineffably happy in the sole contemplation of his perfection,[g] to desire to know him is to desire to partake in his happiness.

Philocles. Does his providence extend to all nature?

Lysis. Even to the most minute objects.[h]

Philocles. Can we conceal our actions from his sight?

Lysis. No, nor even our thoughts.[i]

[c] Tim. Locr. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. tom. iii. page 96. [d] Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 8. c. 6. t. i. p. 416; c. 7. p. 418; c. 15. p. 430. Id. Metaphys. lib. 14. c. 7. p. 1010. [e] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 28. [f] Onat. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 4. [g] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 10. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 139. E. Id. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 1. Ibid. p. 425. E. [h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. tom. ii. p. 900. C. Theolog. Payenn. t. i. p. 190. [i] Epicharm. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 708. Æschyl. ap. Theophil. ad Autolic. lib. 2. § 54. Eurip. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. c. 7. p. 8 Thal. ap. Laërt. lib. 1. § 36.

Philocles. Is God the author of evil?

Lysis. The good Being can only be the cause of good.[k]

Philocles. What are your relations to him?

Lysis. I am his work. I appertain to him, and his care watches over me.[l]

Philocles. What is the worship which is suitable to him?

Lysis. That which the laws of our country have established, human wisdom being unable to arrive at any positive knowledge on this subject.[m]

Philocles. Is it sufficient to honour him by sacrifices and pompous ceremonies?

Lysis. No.

Philocles. What more is necessary?

Lysis. Purity of heart;[n] his favour is sooner to be obtained by virtue than by offerings;[o] and as there can be no communication between him and injustice,[p] some have believed that we ought to force from the altars the guilty wretches who have there taken refuge.[q]

Philocles. Is this doctrine, which is taught by the philosophers, acknowledged also by the priests?

Lysis. They have caused it to be engraven on the gate of the temple of Epidaurus, ENTRANCE INTO

[k] Plat. in Tim. tom. iii. p. 30. A. Id. de Rep. lib. 2. tom. ii. p. 379. D. [l] Id. in Phædon. tom. i. p. 62. D. [m] Plat. in Epinom. t. ii. p. 985. D. [n] Zaleuc. ap. Stob. p. 279. Plut. in Alcib. 2. tom. ii. p. 149. E. Isocr. ad Nicocl. tom. i. p. 61. [o] Zaleuc. ap. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 34; et ap. Stob. p. 279. Xen. Mem. lib. 1. p. 722. [p] Charond. ap. Stob. serm. 42. p. 289. [q] Eurip. ap. Stob. serm. 44. p. 307.

THESE PLACES, saith the inscription, IS PERMITTED ONLY TO PURE SOULS.[r] It is loudly declared in our holy ceremonies; in which, when the priest has said, *Who are those who are here assembled?* the multitude reply, *Good and virtuous people.*[s]

Philocles. Have your prayers for their object the goods of this world?

Lysis. No; I know not but it may be hurtful: and I should fear lest the Deity, offended at the indiscretion of my petitions, should grant my request.[t]

Philocles. What then do you ask of him?

Lysis. To protect me against my passions;[u] to grant me true beauty, which is that of the soul,[x] and the knowledge and virtue of which I have need;[y] to bestow on me the power to refrain from committing any injustice; and, especially, the courage to endure, when necessary, the injustice of others.[z]

Philocles. What ought we to do to render ourselves agreeable to the Deity?

Lysis. To remember that we are ever in his presence,[a] to undertake nothing without imploring his assistance,[b] to aspire in some degree to resemble him by justice and sanctity,[c] to refer to him all our ac-

[r] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 652. [s] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 435 et 967. [t] Plat. in Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 138, &c. [u] Zaleuc. ap. Stob. serm. 42. p. 279. [x] Plat. in Phæd. t. iii. p. 279. Id. in Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 148. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 705. [y] Plat. in Men. tom. ii. p. 100; ap. eund. de Virt. t. iii. p. 379. [z] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239. A. [a] Xen. Memor. lib. 1. p. 728. [b] Charond. ap. Stob. serm. 42. p. 289. Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 27 et 48. Id. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 712. Id. Epist. 8. t. iii. p. 352. E. [c] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 176. B. Aur. Carm. vers. ult.

tions,[d] to fulfil punctually the duties of our condition, and to consider as the first of them all that of being useful to mankind;[e] for the more good we do, the more we merit to be ranked among the number of his children and his friends.[f]

Philocles. May we obtain happiness by observing these precepts?

Lysis. Doubtless; since happiness consists in wisdom, and wisdom in the knowledge of God.[g]

Philocles. But this knowledge must be very imperfect.

Lysis. And therefore we can only enjoy perfect happiness in another life.[h]

Philocles. Is it true that, after our death, our souls shall appear in the Field of Truth, and render an account of their conduct to inexorable judges; and that afterward some, conveyed into pleasant meadows, shall there enjoy a tranquil existence in the midst of festivals and music; while others shall be cast by the Furies into Tartarus, where they shall undergo at once the torments of flames, and the cruelty of devouring beasts?

Lysis. I know not.

Philocles. May we affirm that both these classes

[d] Bias. ap. Laërt. lib. 1. § 88. Bruck. Histor. Philos. t. i. p. 1072. [e] Xen. Memor. lib. 3. p. 780. [f] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 612. E. Id. de Leg. lib. 4. p. 716. D. Alexand. ap. Plut. tom. i. p. 681. A. [g] Theag. ap. Stob. serm. 1. p. 11. lin. 50. Archyt. ibid. p. 15. Plat. Theæt. t. i. p. 176; in Euthyd. p. 280. Id. Epist. 8. t. iii. p. 354. T. Id. ap. Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8. c. 9. [h] Plat. in Epinom. tom. ii. p. 992. [i] Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 371.

of souls, after having passed at least a thousand years in tortures or in pleasures, shall again enter a mortal body, either among the human race or among other animals, and begin a new life;[k] but that eternal punishments await certain crimes?[l]

Lysis. Of this also I am ignorant. The Divine Being has not explained to us the nature of the punishments and rewards appointed after death. All that I affirm, from the ideas which we have of order and justice, and from the consent of all nations and all ages,[m] is, that every one will be dealt with according to his merits;[n] and that the just man, suddenly passing from the nocturnal day of this life[o] to the pure and resplendent light of a second existence, shall enjoy that unchangeable happiness of which this world only presents the feeble image.[p]

Philocles. What are our duties towards ourselves?

Lysis. To assign to the spiritual part of us the greatest honours, next to those which we pay to the Divinity; never to pollute it by vices or remorse, sell it to riches, sacrifice it to pleasure; nor ever, on any occasion, to prefer a substance so terrestrial and frail as the body, to a principal whose origin is from heaven, and whose duration is eternal.[q]

[k] Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 371. Virg. Æneid. lib. 6. v. 741. [l] Plat. ibid. p. 615. Id. in Gorg. t. i. p. 525. [m] Id. in Gorg. t. i. p. 523. Plut. de Consol. t. ii. p. 120. [n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. p. 905. [o] Id. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 521. [p] Id. in Epinom. t. ii. p. 973 et 992. [q] Id. de Leg. lib. 5. p. 727, &c.

Philocles. What are our duties towards other men?

Lysis. They are all contained in this rule: Do not unto others what you would not wish they should do unto you.[r]

Philocles. But are you not to be pitied, should all these opinions prove mere illusion, and should the soul not survive the body?

Lysis. Religion requires not more from her votaries than philosophy. Far from exacting from the virtuous man any sacrifice which may excite his regret, she diffuses a secret charm over his duties; and procures him two inestimable advantages—an undisturbed tranquillity during his life, and a delicious hope in the moment of death.[s]

[r] Isocr. in Nicocl. t. i. p. 116. [s] Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 19 et 114.

CHAPTER LXXX.

Continuation of the Library—Poetry.

I HAD taken with me to the house of Euclid young Lysis, the son of Apollodorus. We entered one of the apartments of the library, which contained only poetical works, and treatises on morals; of the former there was a great variety, but a very small number of the latter. Lysis appeared surprised at this disproportion. A few books, said Euclid, are sufficient to instruct men, but many are necessary for their entertainment. Our duties are limited, but the pleasures of the mind and heart can know no bounds; the Imagination, by which they are nourished, is equally liberal and fruitful; while Reason, poor and sterile, only dispenses to us those feeble lights which are necessary; and, as we act more from sensation than reflection, the talents of the Imagination will always appear to us to have more charms than the counsels of Reason her rival.

This splendid faculty is less employed on what is real than on what is possible, a much more extensive subject than reality. Frequently it even passes the bounds of possibility to indulge in those fictions to which no limits can be assigned. The voice of Imagination peoples the deserts, bestows life on the most insensible beings, transfers from one object to

another the qualities and colours by which they are distinguished, and by a succession of transformations, hurries us away into the abode of enchantments, into that ideal world in whieh the poets, forgetting the earth, and forgetting themselves, have intercourse only with intelligences of a superior order.

There they gather their verses in the gardens of the Muses;[t] tranquil streams roll for them their waves of milk and honey;[u] Apollo descends from heaven to lend them his lyre;[x] and a divine breath, suddenly extinguishing their reason, throws them into the convulsions of a delirium, and compels them to speak the language of the gods, of whom they are then no more than the organs.[y]

You see, added Euclid, that I borrow the words of Plato. He frequently ridiculed those poets who complain in such frigid language of the fire by which they pretend to be interiorly consumed. But there areamong them those who actually feel the influence of that enthusiasm which is called divine inspiration, or poetic fury.[z] Æschylus, Pindar, and all our great poets, were actuated by it, as their writings will for ever evince. What do I say? Demosthenes in our popular assemblies, and individuals in society, cause us every day to experience its effects. Should you yourself have to paint the transports or the woes of one of those passions which, when at their height, no longer leave the mind its freedom, your eyes, your

[t] Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 534. [u] Id. ibid. [x] Pind. Pyth. 1. v. 1. [y] Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 534. [z] Id. in Phæd. t. iii. page 245. Id. et Democrit. ap. Cicer. de Orat. c. 46. t. i. p. 237.

language, would become alike inflamed and ardent, and the frequent violence of your manner and expression would appear as fits of fury or of madness. Yet would you only have yielded to the voice of Nature.

This ardour, which ought to animate all the productions of the mind, is displayed in poetry,[a] with more or less intensity, according as the subject requires more or less emotion, or the author more or less possesses that sublime talent which accommodates itself with facility to the characters of the passions; or that profound sentiment which suddenly enkindles in his heart, and rapidly communicates itself to the feelings of others.[b] These two qualities are not always united. I knew a poet of Syracuse who never made such beautiful verses as when he was transported beyond himself by a violent enthusiasm.[c]

Lysis then asked several questions, the purport of which may be gathered from the substance of the answers of Euclid. Poetry, said the latter, has its particular language and style. In the epic poem, and in tragedy, a great action is represented, all the parts of which are connected at the pleasure of the poet, who alters known facts by adding others which may increase the interest; sometimes giving them greater importance by the means of marvellous incidents, and sometimes by the varied charms of diction, or the beauty of the thoughts and sentiments.

[a] Cicer. Tusculan. lib. 1. c. 26. t. ii. p. 254. Id. ad Quint. lib. 3. epist. 4. t. ix. p. 87; epist. 5. p. 89. [b] Aristot. de Poet. c. 17. t. ii. p. 665. C. [c] Id. Probl. t. ii. p. 817. C.

Frequently the fable, that is to say the manner of disposing the action,[d] costs more labour, or does more honour, to the poet, than even the composition of the verses.[e]

The other kinds of poetry do not require from the writer so artificial a construction; but he ought always to display a species of invention, to animate whatever subject he treats with novel fictions, to impart to his readers his own ardour, and never to forget that, according to Simonides,[f] poetry is a speaking picture, and painting a mute poetry.

It hence follows that verse alone cannot constitute a poem. The history of Herodotus put into verse would still be only a history,[g] because it would neither contain a fable nor fictions.[h] It also follows that we ought not to enumerate among the productions of poetry the sentences of Theognis, Phocylides, &c. nor even the systems of nature of Parmenides and Empedocles;[i] though the works of the latter sometimes contain splendid descriptions,[k] or ingenious allegories.[l]

I have said that Poetry has a peculiar language. In the compacts which she has entered into with Prose, she has agreed never to appear but with the

[d] Aristot. de Poet. c. 6. t. ii. p. 656. E. [e] Id. ibid. c. 9. t. ii. p. 659. E. [f] Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 17. Voss. de Art. Poet. Nat. p. 6. [g] Aristot. de Poet. c. 9. t. ii. p. 659. [h] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 61. B. [i] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 1. p. 653. Plut. de Aud. Poet. p. 16. [k] Arist. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 57. Emped. ap. Plut. de Vitand. Ære Alien. t. ii. p. 830. Sext. Empir. adv. Logic. lib. 7. p. 396. [l] Sext. Empir. ibid. p. 392.

richest, at least the most elegant, ornaments; and all the colours of Nature are delivered into her hands, with the obligation incessantly to use them, and the hope of pardon should she even sometimes abuse them.

She has added to her empire a number of words interdicted to Prose, and others which she lengthens or shortens by the addition or retrenchment of a letter or syllable. She possesses the power of creating new ones,[m] and the almost exclusive privileges of employing those which are no longer in use, or which are only so in a foreign country;[n] of combining many into one,[o] disposing them in an order before unknown,[p] and indulging in those licences which distinguish poetical elocution from ordinary language.

The privileges granted to genius are extended to almost all the instruments which second its operations; and hence the numerous forms of verse, each of which has a peculiar character indicated by nature. That of the heroic is a majestic grandeur; it has therefore been appropriated to the epic poem. The iambic frequently occurs in conversation, and has been successfully employed in dramatic poetry. Other forms are found to be better adapted to songs accompanied with dances,[q]* and are used in odes and hymns. Thus have the poets multiplied the means of diffusing pleasure.

[m] Aristot. de Poet. c. 21. tom. ii. p. 669. B. [n] Id. ibid. p. 668. D. et cap. 22. p. 669. E. [o] Id. ibid. c. 20. p. 668. A. [p] Aristot. de Poet. c. 22. p. 670. C. [q] Id. ibid. c. 24. p. 672. B.

* See, concerning the different kinds of Greek verse, Chapter XXVII. of this work.

Euclid, as he ended, showed us the works which have appeared at different times under the names of Orpheus, Musæus, Thamyris,[r] Linus Anthes,[s] Pamphus,[t] Olen,[u] Abaris,[x] Epimenides,[y] &c. Some contain only sacred hymns or plaintive songs; others treat of sacrifices, oracles, expiations, and enchantments. In some of these, and especially the Epic Cycle, which is a collection of fabulous traditions whence the tragic writers have frequently taken the subjects of their pieces,[z] are contained the genealogies of the gods, the combat of the Titans, the expedition of the Argonauts, and the wars of Thebes and Troy;[a] these being the principal objects which engaged the attention of men of literature during many ages. As the greater part of these works are not by the authors whose names they bear,* Euclid had not arranged them in any regular order.

Next came the works of Hesiod and Homer. The latter were accompanied by a formidable body of interpreters and commentators.[b] I had read with no small disgust the elucidations of Stesimbrotus and Glaucon;[c] and had been much diverted with the labour employed by Metrodorus of Lampsacus to discover a continued allegory in the Iliad and Odyssey.[d]

[r] Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 364. Id. de Leg. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 829. Aristot. de Gener. Animal. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. i. p. 1073. [s] Heracl. ap. Plut. de Mus. tom. ii. p. 1132. [t] Pausan. lib. 1. p. 92, 94, &c. [u] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 35. [x] Plat. in. Charmid. t. ii. p. 158. [y] Diog. Laërt. lib. 1. § 111. [z] Casaub. in Athen. p. 301. [a] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. lib. 1. c. 17, &c. * See note IV. [b] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 330. [c] Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 530. [d] Id. ibid. Titian. adv. Gent. § 37. p. 80.

After the example of Homer, a great number of poets undertook to celebrate the war of Troy. Among others were Arctinus, Stesichorus,[e] Sacadas,[f] and Lesches,[g] who began his work by these emphatical words: "*I sing the fortune of Priam, and the famous war.....*"[h] The same Lesches, in his little Iliad,[i] and Dicæogenes, in his Cypriacs,[k] described all the events of this war. The poems of the Heracleid and the Theseid omit none of the exploits of Hercules and Theseus.[l] These authors never understood the nature of the epic poem. They followed in the train of Homer; and were lost in his rays, as the stars vanish in the splendour of the sun.

Euclid had endeavoured to collect all the tragedies, comedies, and satiric dramas, which within near two hundred years had been represented in the theatres of Greece[m] and Sicily. He possessed about three thousand,[n]* yet his collection was not complete. What an exalted idea must we not hence conceive of the literature of the Greeks, and the fecundity of their genius! I often reckoned more than a hundred pieces which were the production of the same author. Among other singular works which Euclid pointed out to our attention, he showed us the Hippocentaur,

[e] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 9, et 597. [f] Athen. lib. 13. c. 9. p. 610. Meurs. Bibl. Græc. c. 1. [g] Paus. lib. 10. c. 25. p. 860. [h] Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 137. [i] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 280. [k] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 117. Aristot. de Poet. c. 16. t. ii. p. 664; c. 23. p. 671. Athen. lib. 15. c. 8. p. 682. Perizon. ad. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. c. 15. [l] Aristot. de Poet. c. 8. t. ii. p. 658. [m] Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 398. [n] Meurs. Bibl. Græc. et Attic. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. &c. * See Note V.

a tragedy, in which Chæremon had not long before introduced, contrary to the received practice, all the different kinds of verse.[o] This novelty however did not meet with success.

The Mimi were at first only obscene or satirical farces, which were represented on the stage. Their name was afterwards transferred to little poems which describe particular adventures.[p] They resemble comedy by their subject, but differ from it by their want of a plot, and sometimes by their extreme licentiousness.[q] There are some of them, however, which abound in a decent and exquisite pleasantry. Among the Mimi which Euclid had collected, I found those of Xenarchus, and those of Sophron of Syracuse.[r] The latter were much admired by Plato, who having received them from Sicily, made the Athenians acquainted with them, and on the day of his death they were found under the pillow of his bed.[s]*

Before the discovery of the dramatic art, continued Euclid, those poets to whom Nature had granted refined sensibility, but denied the talents requisite for the epic poem, sometimes pathetically described the calamities of nations, or the misfortunes of an ancient hero; and sometimes deplored the death of a relation or a friend, and by indulging

[o] Aristot. de Poet. c. 1. t. ii. p. 653; c. 24. p. 672. [p] Voss. de Inst. Poet. lib. 2. cap. 30. p. 150. [q] Plut. Sympos. lib. 7. quæst. 8. tom. ii. page 712. Diomed. de Orat. lib. 3. page 448. [r] Aristot. de Poet. c. 1. t. ii. p. 653. [s] Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 18. Menag. ibid. p. 146. Voss. ibid. c. 33. p. 161. * There seems reason to conjecture that some of the poems called *Mimi* were written in the manner of the tales of La Fontaine.

assuaged their grief. Their plaintive songs, almost always accompanied by the flute, were known under the name of Elegies or Lamentations.[t]

The construction of this kind of poetry is regularly irregular: I mean that verses of six and five feet succeed each other alternately.[u] Its style should be simple; for a heart really afflicted aims not to attract our admiration. The expressions should sometimes be ardent, like the cinders which covers a devouring fire, but should not burst forth into the exclamations and imprecations of despair. Nothing more effectually moves compassion than perfect gentleness in the extremity of suffering. Would you wish for the model of an elegy equally concise and affecting, you may find it in Euripides. Andromache, brought into Greece, throws herself at the feet of the statue of Thetis, the mother of Achilles. She does not complain of that hero; but, at the remembrance of the fatal day on which she saw Hector dragged round the walls of Troy, her eyes overflow with tears. She accuses Helen as the cause of all her woes; she recals to mind the cruel persecutions of Hermione; and, after having a second time pronounced the name of her husband, pours forth her tears in still more copious streams.[x]

The elegy may soothe our sorrows when we are

[t] Procl. Chrestom. ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 984. Voss. de Instit. Poet. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 49. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vi. Hist. p. 277; t. vii. Mem. p. 337. [u] Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 75. [x] Eurip. in Androm. v. 103.

in misfortune, but it ought to inspire us with courage when we are on the point of being attacked by calamity. It then assumes a more nervous tone: and, employing the most forcible images, compels us to blush at our cowardice, and envy the tears shed at the funeral of the hero who had sacrificed his life in the service of his country.

Thus was it that Tyrtæus revived the drooping ardour of the Spartans,[y] and Callinus infused new vigour into the inhabitants of Ephesus.[z] Here are their elegies, and also the poem intitled Salamis, which Solon composed to engage the Athenians to retake the island of that name.[a]

Wearied at length with lamenting the too real calamities of humanity, the elegiac poets applied themselves to paint the gentler woes of Love:[b] and many of them have thus acquired a celebrity which they have reflected on their mistresses. The charms of Nanno were sung by Mimnermus of Colophon, who is ranked among the most eminent of our poets;[c] and the beautiful Battis is daily celebrated by Philetas of Cos,[d] who, though yet young, has deservedly acquired a great reputation. It is said that his body is so wasted and feeble, that, to enable himself to withstand the violence of the wind, he is

[y] Stob. serm. 49. p. 353. [z] Id. ibid. p. 355. [a] Plut. in Sol. t. i. p. 82. [b] Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 76. [c] Chamœl. ap. Athen. lib. 13. cap. 3. p. 620. Strab. lib. 14. p. 633 et 643. Juid. in Μίμνερ. Horat. lib. 2. epist. 2. v. 101. Propert. lib. 1. eleg. 9. v. 11. Gyrald. de Poet. Hist. Dialog. 3. page 161. [d] Hermesian. ap. Athen. lib. 13. c. 8. p. 598.

obliged to fasten plates of lead to his shoes.[e] The inhabitants of Cos, elated with the honour his poetical fame has reflected on his country, have erected to him, under a plane tree, a statue of bronze.[f]

I chanced to lay my hand on a volume intitled *The Lydian.* That work, said Euclid, is by Antimachus of Colophon, who lived in the last century,[g] and who is likewise the author of the well known poem of the Thebaid.[h] He was violently enamoured of the beautiful Chryseis, whom he followed into Lydia, of which country she was a native, and where she died in his arms. On his return home, he could find no other consolation for his affliction than to perpetuate it in his writings, and to give to this elegy the name which it bears.[i]

I am acquainted with the Thebaid, answered I. Though the disposition of that poem be not happy,[k] and we meet with in it, from time to time, verses of Homer transcribed almost word for word,[l] I nevertheless allow that the author, in many respects, merits praise. Yet the inflation,[m] harshness, and I will venture to say, dryness, of the style,[n] make me presume

[e] Athen. lib. 12. c. 13. p. 552. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. c. 14; lib. 10. c. 6. Suid. in Φιλητ. [f] Hermesian. ap. Athen. lib. 13. c. 8. p. 598. [g] Schol. Pind. Pyth. 4. v. 398. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. v. 1289; lib. 2. v. 297, &c. [h] Athen. lib. 11. p. 468, 475, et 482. [i] Hermesian. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 598. Plut. de Consol. t. ii. p. 106. [k] Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 629. [l] Porphyr. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10. p. 467. [m] Catull. de Cinn. et Volus. carm. lxxxvii. [n] Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. t. v. p. 150. Id. de Cens. Vet. Script. c. 2. p. 419.

that the writer did not possess sufficient elegance of mind, or sensibility of heart,[o] to interest us in the death of Chryseis. But I will examine whether my conjecture be well founded. I therefore read the *Lydian,* while Euclid showed to Lysis the elegies of Archilochus, Simonides, Clonas, Ion,[p] &c. When I had ended the perusal of it—I perceive, said I, that I was not mistaken; Antimachus has arrayed his grief in pompous ornaments. Without perceiving that he has already found consolation who seeks it in examples, he compares his woes to the sufferings of the ancient heroes of Greece,[q] and prolixly describes the painful labours of the Argonauts in their expedition.[r]

Archilochus, said Lysis, believed that he had found a more happy termination to his griefs in wine. His brother-in-law had perished at sea; and, in some verses which the poet composed on the occasion, after having expressed some regret for his death, he soon hastens to calm his grief: For in truth, says he, my tears cannot restore him to life, nor will our sports and pleasures in the least increase the rigour of his fate.[s]

Euclid made us observe that the mixture of verses of six feet with those of five was formerly only used in the elegy, properly so called; but that

[o] Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 629. [p] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. p. 352. [q] Plut. de Consol. t. ii. p. 106. [r] Schol. Pind. Pyth. 4. v. 398. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. v. 1289; lib. 3. v. 409; lib. 4. v. 259, &c. [s] Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 33.

it was afterwards employed in different kinds of poetry. While he was producing some examples,[t] he received a book which he had expected a long time. This was the Iliad in elegiac verse; that is to say, to each line of Homer the writer had added a shorter verse after his fashion. The name of this author was Pigres; he was brother to the late queen of Caria—Artemisia, the wife of Mausolus,[u] which, however, had not prevented him from producing the most extravagant and wretched work that perhaps exists.

Several shelves were filled with hymns to the gods, odes in honour of the victors in the various games of Greece, eclogues, songs and a number of fugitive pieces.

The eclogue, said Euclid, paints the pleasures of the pastoral life, and exhibits to us shepherds seated on the turf, on the banks of a stream, on the brow of a hill, or beneath the shade of an ancient tree, who sometimes tune their pipes to the murmurs of the waters or the zephyrs; and sometimes sing their loves, their innocent disputes, their flocks, and the enchanting objects by which they are surrounded.

This kind of poetry has not made any progress among us. We must seek for its origin in Sicily.[x] There, at least as we have heard, between mountains crowned with lofty oaks, a valley extends in which Nature has lavished her treasures; and where, in the midst of a laurel grove,[y] was born the shepherd

[t] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. p. 383. [u] Suid. in Πιγρ. [x] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 285. [y] Id. ibid.

Daphnis, on whom the gods emulously bestowed their favours. The Nymphs nursed him in his infancy; he received from Venus grace and beauty, and from Mercury persuasive eloquence; Pan directed his fingers on the flute with seven pipes; and the Muses modulated the accents of his harmonious voice. Soon collecting around him the shepherds of the district, he taught them to know and prize the happiness of the pastoral life. The reeds were converted into instruments of music. The echoes, animated by their sound, repeated on every side the accents of tranquil and durable happiness. Daphnis did not long enjoy the benefits of which he had been the author; he died in the prime of his years, the victim of love;[z] but even unto our time[a] his pupils have never ceased to celebrate his name, and to deplore the woes which terminated his life.[b] The pastoral poem, of which it is said he first conceived the idea, was afterwards brought to perfection by two Sicilian poets, Stesichorus of Himera, and Diomus of Syracuse.[c]

I can easily imagine, said Lysis, that this species of poem must present us with pleasing landscapes; but surely the ignoble figures which are introduced in them must strangely detract from their beauty. In what manner can we be interested by rude shep-

[z] Voss. de Inst. Poet. lib. 3. c. 8. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. Hist. p. 85; t. vi. Mem. p. 459. [a] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 283. [b] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 10. cap. 18. Theocr. Idyll. 1. [c] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 10. c. 18. Athen. lib. 14. c. 3. p. 619.

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[t] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. p. 383. [u] Suid. in Πιγρ. [x] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 285. [y] Id. ibid.

and hogs.[e] But as the poet ought only to attribute to his shepherds mild passions and slight vices, he can only present us with a small number of scenes; and the spectators will become disgusted with a uniformity equally fatiguing with a sea continually calm, and a sky constantly serene.

From the want of motion and variety, the eclogue can never be so pleasing to our taste as that poetry in which the heart displays itself in the moment of pleasure or of pain. I mean to speak of songs, with the different kinds of which you are acquainted. I have divided them into two classes. The first contains the songs of the table,[f] and the other those which are peculiar to certain professions and occupations; such as the songs of reapers, vintagers, millers, workers in wool, weavers, nurses, &c.[g]

The intoxication of wine, love, joy, or patriotism, characterises the former. They require a peculiar talent, which renders precepts unnecessary to those who have received it from nature, and to those who have not it would be useless. Pindar has composed drinking songs;[h] but those of Anacreon and Alcæus will always be sung. In the second class of songs, the recital of labours is softened by the recollection of certain circumstances, or the intimation of the advantages which they procure. I once heard a soldier, when half intoxicated, sing a military song, of which I rather remember the sense than the words:

[e] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iv. p. 534. [f] Id. ibid. t. ix. p. 320. [g] Id. ibid. p. 347. [h] Athen. lib. 10. cap. 7. p. 427. Suid. in Πίνδ.

—" A spear, a sword, and a buckler, compose all my treasure; yet I possess fields, harvests, and wine. I have seen men prostrate at my feet who called me their sovereign and their master; for they had no spear, sword, nor buckler."[i]

What a progress may we not expect poetry to make in a country in which Nature, and the institutions of each city and state, incessantly incite lively and brilliant imaginations to display their powers with profusion! For it is not only to those poets who have been successful in the epopœia and the dramatic art that the Greeks have erected statues, and rendered the still more valuable homage of rational esteem; illustrious honours are reserved for those who have excelled in any of the different kinds of lyric poetry. There is not a city which in the course of the year does not celebrate a number of festivals in honour of the gods; nor any festival which is not solemnised with new hymns, sung in the presence of all the inhabitants, and by choruses of youths taken from the principal families. What a motive for emulation is here offered to the poet! and how distinguished is the honour he receives, when, by celebrating the victories of the athletæ, he himself merits the gratitude of their country! Let us transport him to a more illustrious theatre, and imagine him appointed to conclude by his songs the festivals of Olympia, or the other great solemnities of Greece. What must he feel when twenty or thirty thousand

[i] Athen. lib. 15. c. 15. p. 695.

spectators, enchanted with his harmonious numbers, rend the skies with shouts of admiration and joy? No! the greatest potentate on earth could never bestow on genius a reward of such inestimable value.

Hence arises that distinction which, among us, the poets who contribute to the embellishment of our festivals enjoy, especially when they preserve in their compositions the peculiar character of the divinity whom they celebrate. For, relatively to its object, each species of song or hymn should be distinguished by a particular style and kind of music: if it is addressed to the sovereign of the gods, it should be grave and majestic; if to the muses, it should be expressed in the softest and most harmonious sounds. The ancients punctually observed this just proportion; but the moderns, who believe themselves to be wiser than their ancestors, because in some things they have attained to a little more knowledge, have not been ashamed to neglect it.[k]—I have remarked, subjoined I, this conformity in your most trivial customs, when they may be traced back to a certain antiquity; and I have admired your first legislators, who early perceived that it was better to enchain your liberty by forms than by restraint. I have even observed, in studying the origin of nations, that the empire of customs and rites has everywhere preceded that of laws. Customs are like guides, who lead us by the hand through paths which are frequently trodden; while the laws are like those maps in which

[k] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 700. Plut. de Mus. tom. ii. p. 1133. Lettr. sur. la Musique, par. M. l'Abbé Arnaud, p. 16.

the roads are marked out by a single stroke without any regard to their windings.

I shall not read to you, resumed Euclid, the tiresome list of all the authors who have succeeded in lyric poetry; but I will name to you the principal: These are Stesichorus, Ibycus, Alcæus, Alcman, Simonides, Bacchylides, Anacreon, and Pindar. Several of the female sex have also cultivated a species of writing so susceptible of graces; and among these are distinguished Sappho, Erinna, Telesilla, Praxilla, Myrtis, and Corinna.[l]

Before I proceed any farther, I ought to speak to you of a kind of poem in which that enthusiasm of which we have spoken is frequently displayed: I mean hymns in honour of Bacchus, known by the name of Dithyrambics. Both the writer and singer of them should be under the influence of a kind of delirium;[m] for they are appropriated to direct certain animated and violent dances which are most frequently performed in a round.[n]

This species of poem is easily known by peculiar properties which distinguish it from every other.[o] To pourtray at once the qualities and relations of an object, it is frequently permitted to combine several words into one; which licence sometimes gives birth to words of such length and intricacy as to fatigue

[l] Vess. de Inst. Poet. lib. 3. c. 15. p. 80. [m] Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 534. Id. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 700. [n] Procl. Chrestom. ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 985. Pind. in Olymp. 13. v. 25. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 1403. [o] Schmidt. de Dithyr. ad Calc. edis. Pind. p. 251. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. x. p. 307.

the ear, but so sonorous as to agitate the imagination.[p] Metaphors, which seem to have no relation, succeed without following each other. The author, who proceeds only by impetuous starts, discerns, but neglects to mark, the connection of his ideas. Sometimes he departs from every rule of art; and sometimes employs the different measures of verse, and the various kinds of modulation.[q]

Whilst under favour of these licences the man of genius displays to our eyes the immense riches of poetry, his feeble imitators discover to us its empty ostentation. Without animation and without interest, and becoming obscure while they labour to appear profound, they diffuse over common ideas colours that are still more common. The greater part, from the beginning of their pieces, seek to dazzle us by the magnificence of images drawn from meteors and the celestial phænomena.[r] Hence that pleasantry of Aristophanes, who in one of his comedies introduces a man whom he supposes to have lately come down from the heavens. He is asked what he saw there: to which question he replies:—"Two or three dithyrambic poets running about among the winds and clouds, to collect vapours and whirlwinds, of which to make their prologues."[s] He elsewhere compares

[p] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 831. Schol. ibid. Aristot. Rhet. lib. 3. c. 3. t. ii. p. 587. E. Suid. in Διθυρ et in Ἐνδιαερ. [q] Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verbor. § 19. t. v. p. 131. [r] Suid. in Διθυρ. [s] Aristoph. in Av. v. 1383. Schol. ibid. Id. in Pac. v. 829. Schol. ibid. Flor. Christian. ibid. v. 177.

the expressions of these poets to air-bubbles, which when they are pierced burst with a loud crack.[t]

Here also we see the power of certain conventions. The same poet who, when he celebrates Apollo, soothes his mind to tranquil harmony, agitates his soul with violence when he prepares to sing the praises of Bacchus; and if his imagination be slow to imbibe the poetic flame, he adds to it new heat by the immoderate use of wine.[u] Struck with this liquor as with a thunderbolt, said Archilochus, I triumphantly begin my career.[x]

Euclid had collected the dithyrambics of the latter poet,[y] and those of Arion,[z] Lasus,[a] Pindar,[b] Melanipides,[c] Philoxenus,[d] Timotheus, Telestes, Polyides,[e] Ion,[f] and many others, the greater number of whom have lived in our time. For this kind of poetry, which tends to the sublime, has a peculiar charm for poets whose abilities do not exceed mediocrity; and as every individual now endeavours to raise himself above his actual condition in life, every author, in like manner, wishes to elevate his style above his real powers.

I afterwards saw a collection of impromptus,[g]

[t] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 251. Schol. ibid. Voss. de Instit. Poet. lib. 3. c. 16. p. 88. [u] Philoch. et Epicharm. ap. Athen. lib. 14. c. 6. p. 628. [x] Archil. ap. Athen. lib. 14. c. 6. p. 628. [y] Id. ibid. [z] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 23. Suid. in Ἀρίων. [a] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 365. Ælian. Hist. Animal. lib. 7. c. 47. [b] Strab. lib. 9. p 404. Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. p. 152. Suid. in Πίνδ. [c] Xen. Memor. lib. 1. page 725. [d] Dionys. Halic. ibid. p. 132. Suid. in Φιλόξεν. [e] Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 273. [f] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 835. Schol. ibid. [g] Simon. ap. Athen. lib. 3. c. 35. p. 125.

enigmas, acrostics, and all sorts of *griphi*.[h]* In some of the last pages, I observed the figures of an egg, an altar, a two-edged ax, and the wings of love. On examining them more closely, I perceived they were pieces of poetry, composed of verses of such different lengths as to pourtray various objects. In the egg, for example, the two first verses were of three syllables each, and the following continually lengthened till they came to a certain measure; from which they decreased in the same proportion, till they ended, as they had begun, in two verses of three syllables.[i] Simmias of Rhodes had enriched literature with these productions equally puerile and laborious.

Lysis, who was passionately enamoured of poetry, was constantly in fear lest it should be classed among the number of frivolous amusements; and having perceived that Euclid had more than once declared that a poet ought not to flatter himself that he shall be able to obtain success when he possesses not the talents requisite to please, he exclaimed, in a moment of impatience—It is poetry which has civilized mankind, which instructed my childhood, which tempers the severity of precepts, which renders virtue more amiable by bestowing on her new graces, which elevates my soul in the epic poem, inspires me with tenderness at the theatre, fills me with a holy awe in our sacred ceremonies, invites to

[h] Call. ap. Athen. lib. 10. c. 20. p. 453. Thes. Epist. Lacrozian. t. iii. p. 257. * A kind of riddles (*logogriphes*). See note VI. [i] Salæas. ad Dosiad. aras; Simmim ovum, &c. page 183.

joy during our repasts, and animates my courage in presence of the enemy; and, even though the fictions of poetry should be confined to calming the unquiet activity of our imagination, must not that be a real good which procures us some innocent pleasures, amid the multitude of evils of which I incessantly hear so many complaints?

Euclid smiled at this sudden transport; and, still more to excite it, replied—I know that Plato superintended a part of your education: can you have forgotten that he considered poetical fictions as false and dangerous pictures, which by degrading the gods and heroes, only present phantoms of virtue to our imitation?[k]

If it were possible that I should forget Plato, replied Lysis, his writings would soon again recal him to my memory; but I must confess that I sometimes believe I am convinced by the strength of his reasoning, when I am only captivated by the charms of his poetical style. At other times, when I see him employing against imagination the weapons which he has borrowed from it, I am tempted to accuse him of ingratitude and perfidy. Do not you believe, said he to me, that the first and principal object of the poets is to instruct us in our duties by the allurement of pleasure? I answered—Since I have lived among enlightened men, and studied the conduct of those who aspire to celebrity, I only

[k] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 387, &c. Id. ibid. lib. 10. page 599, &c.

examine what is the secondary motive of their actions, for the first is almost always either interest or vanity. But, without entering into these discussions, I will tell you simply what I think:—Poets wish to please;[1] and poetry may be useful.

[1] Aristot. de Poet. c. 9. t. ii. p. 659; c. 14. p. 662. D. Voss. de Art. Poet. Nat. c. 8. p. 42.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

Continuation of the Library—Morals.

THE science of morals, said Euclid, was formerly only a series of maxims. Pythagoras and his first disciples, ever attentive to ascend to the causes of things, founded morality on principles too much elevated above vulgar minds;[m] it then became a science; and man was known, at least as much as it was possible for him to be; but he was so no longer, when the sophists extended their doubts over the truths of greatest utility. Socrates, persuaded that we were created rather to act than to think, attached himself less to theory than to practice. He rejected abstracted notions; and, under this point of view, it may be said that he caused philosophy to descend to earth.[n] His disciples explained his doctrine; and introduced into it ideas so sublime, that they caused morality again to ascend to heaven. The school of Pythagoras judged it proper sometimes to lay aside its mysterious language, to instruct us concerning our passions, and other duties. This was done with success by Theages, Metopus, and Archytas.[o]

I found different treatises by these authors placed before the books which Aristotle has written on

[m] Aristot. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. c. 1. t. ii. p. 145. [n] Cicer. Tuscul. c. 4. t. ii. p. 362. [o] Stob. passim.

manners. When speaking of the education of the Athenians, I have endeavoured to explain the doctrine of the latter, which is perfectly similar to that of the former. I shall now proceed to give some observations which Euclid had derived from the various works which he had collected.

The word *virtue* originally only signified strength and vigour of body:[p] in which sense Homer has said the *virtue* of a horse,[q] and we still say the *virtue* of a piece of ground.[r] In process of time this word was employed to denote whatever is most valuable in an object.

It is at present used to signify the qualities of the mind, and more frequently those of the heart.[s]

Man in solitude can have only two sentiments, desire and fear; and all his motions must be reducible to pursuit or flight.[t] In society these two sentiments may be exercised on a great number of objects, and divided into several species; and hence arise ambition, hatred, and the other emotions by which the human mind is agitated. But though Nature originally bestowed on man desire and fear only for his own preservation, it is now required of him that all his passions should concur to the preservation of others as well as of himself; and when, under the guidance of sound reason, they produce this happy effect, they become virtues.

Of these four principal ones are distinguished—

[p] Homer. Iliad. lib. 15. v. 649. [q] Id. ibid. lib. 23. v. 374. [r] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 2. [s] Aristot. Eudem. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 202. [t] Id. de Anima, lib. 3. c. 10. t. i. p. 657. D.

fortitude, justice, prudence, and temperance.[u] This division, with which every person is acquainted, argues great knowledge and discernment in those by whom it was first made. The two former, more esteemed, because they are of more general utility, tend to the maintenance of society; fortitude during war, and justice during peace.[x] The two others tend to our particular utility. In a climate in which the imagination is so lively, and the passions are so ardent, prudence ought to be esteemed the first quality of the mind, and temperance the first of the heart.

Lysis now asked whether the philosophers were not divided on certain points in morals. Sometimes, replied Euclid;—the following are examples:

It is established as a principle, that an action, to be virtuous or vicious, must be voluntary: it has therefore since been made a question how far we act without constraint. Some authors excuse the crimes occasioned by love and anger: because according to them, these passions are stronger than we are.[y] They might cite in favour of their opinion the extraordinary decision pronounced in one of our courts of justice:—A son who had struck his father was brought to trial, and alleged in his defence that his father had struck his grandfather. The judges, persuaded that the violence of disposition must be

[u] Archyt. ap. Stob. serm. 1. p. 14. Plat. de Leg. lib. 12. t. ii. p. 964. B. [x] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 9. tom. ii. p. 531. A. [y] Aristot. Eudem. lib. 2. c. 8. t. ii. p. 212. D.

hereditary, acquitted the criminal.[z] But other more enlightened philosophers inveigh against such decisions. No passion, say they, has power to hurry us away in despite of ourselves; every force by which we are constrained is exterior and foreign to us.[a]

Is it permitted us to take vengeance on our enemies? Beyond a doubt, reply some; for it is conformable to justice to repulse outrage by outrage.[b] Yet pure virtue finds more magnanimity in forgiving and forgetting injuries. She has dictated these maxims, which we find in many authors: Speak not evil of your enemies;[c] far from endeavouring to harm them, seek to convert their hatred into friendship.[d] "I wish to revenge myself," said some one to Diogenes; "tell me by what means I may best effect my purpose."—"By becoming more virtuous," answered the philosopher.[e]

Socrates converted this advice into a rigorous precept. From the utmost elevation to which human wisdom can attain, he proclaimed to mankind: "It is not permitted to you to render evil for evil."[f]

Certain nations have allowed suicide;[g] but Pythagoras and Socrates, whose authority is superior to that of these nations, maintain that no person has a

[z] Aristot. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. c. 6. t. ii. p. 178. A. [a] Id. de Mor. lib. 3. c. 3. t. ii. p. 30; c. 7. p. 33. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. c. 15. tom. ii. p. 156. [b] Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 9. t. ii. p. 531. E. [c] Pittac. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 1. § 73. [d] Cleobul. ap. eund. lib. 1. § 91. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 218. A. Themist. Orat. 7. p. 95. [e] Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 21. E. [f] Plat. in. Crit. t. i. p. 49. [g] Strab. lib. 10 p. 486. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. c. 37. et alii.

right to desert the post which the gods have assigned to him in life.[h]

The inhabitants of commercial cities derive a profit from the loan of their money; but, in the plan of a republic founded on virtue, Plato has ordained that money should be lent without requiring any interest.[i]

In every age praises have been bestowed on probity, purity of manners, and benificence; and in every age, murder, adultery, perjury, and every kind of vice, have been condemned. The most corrupted writers are compelled to teach a sound morality, and the most daring to deny the consequences which are drawn from their principles: not one of them would have the effrontery to maintain that it is better to commit than to suffer an injustice.[k]

That our duties are traced out in our laws and by our authors, will not excite your surprise; but when you study the spirit of our institutions, you will not be able to withhold your admiration. The festivals, spectacles, and arts, had originally, among us, a moral object, of which it will be easy to follow the traces. Customs which appear indifferent sometimes afford an instructive lesson. The temples of the Graces are erected in places where they may be visible to every eye, because gratitude cannot be too conspicuous.[l] Even in the mechanism of our language, the lights of instinct or of reason have intro-

[h] Plat in Phædon. t. i. p. 62. Cicer. de Senect. c. 20. t. iii. p. 318. [i] Plat. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 742. [k] Aristot. Topic. lib. 8. c. 9. t. i. p. 275. [l] Id. de Mor. lib. 5. c. 8. t. ii. p. 64. D.

duced some invaluable truths. Among those ancient forms of polite expression which we place at the beginning of a letter, and which we employ on other occasions, there is one that merits attention. Instead of saying, *I salute you*; I say only, *Do good*;[m] which is to wish you the greatest possible happiness. The same word * is applied to the man who is distinguished either for valour or virtue, because courage is as necessary to the latter as the former. Do we wish to convey the idea of a man perfectly virtuous, we attribute to him beauty and goodness;[n] † that is to say, the two qualities which most attract admiration and confidence.

Before I conclude this article, it will be proper to speak to you of a species of composition on which, within these few years, our writers have exercised their abilities; I mean the description of characters.[o] Observe, for example, in what colours Aristotle has pourtrayed greatness of mind.[p]

"We call him magnanimous, whose mind, naturally elevated, is neither dazzled by prosperity, nor depressed by adversity.[q]

"Among all external goods, he only sets a value on that respect which is acquired and bestowed by honour. The most important distinctions merit not

[m] Aristot. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. c. 4. t. ii. p. 149. * Αριστος, which may be translated *excellent*. [n] Aristot. Magn. Moral. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 186. A. † Καλὸς κἀγαθος, *fair and good*. [o] Aristot. Theophr. &c. &c. [p] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 4. c. 7. t. ii. p. 49. Id. Eudem. lib. 3. c. 5. t. ii. p. 223. [q] Id. de Moral. lib. 4. c. 7. t. ii. p. 50.

to excite his transports, because they are his due. He would renounce them sooner than receive them on trivial occasions, or from persons whom he despises.[r]

"As he is unacquainted with fear, his hatred, his friendship, and all his words and actions, are undisguised: but his hatred is not lasting; and as he is convinced that the injury intended him can do him no harm, he frequently disregards, and at length forgets it.[s]

"He loves to perform actions which may be transmitted to posterity; but he never speaks of himself, because he loves not praise. He is more desirous to render than to receive services, and even in his least actions a character of grandeur is discernible: if he makes acquisitions, or if he wishes to gratify the tastes of individuals, he is more attentive to beauty than utility."[t]

I here interrupted Euclid: Add, said I, that when charged with the superintendance of the interests of a great state, he displays in his enterprises and his treaties all the elevation of his mind; that to maintain the honour of his nation, far from having recourse to low and contemptible means, he employs only firmness, frankness, and superiority of genius; and you will have sketched the portrait of that Arsames with whom I passed in Persia such happy days, and who, among all the virtuous inhabitants of

[r] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 4. c. 7. t. ii. p. 50. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. c. 26. t. ii. p. 162. [s] Id. de Moral. lib. 4. c. 8. p. 51. [t] Id. ibid.

that extensive empire, was the only one who was not afflicted at his disgrace.

I spoke to Euclid of another portrait, which was shown me in Persia, and of which I only recollected the following features.

I dedicate to the consort of Arsames that homage which truth owes to virtue. To describe her wit, it would be necessary to possess as much as herself: but to pourtray her heart, her wit would not suffice; a soul of equal virtue and benevolence would be requisite.

Phedime instantaneously discerns the differences and relations of an object, and is able to express them by a single word. She sometimes seems to recollect what she has never learned. From a few ideas she would be able to give the history of the wanderings of the mind; but she would be unable, even from a multiplicity of examples, to give that of the wanderings of the heart; her own is too pure and simple ever to conceive them.

She might without blushing contemplate the entire series of her thoughts and actions during her whole life. Her example proves that the virtues in uniting make but one; and it is also proves that such virtue is the surest means of acquiring general esteem without exciting envy.

To that intrepid fortitude which gives energy of character, she adds a beneficence equally active and inexhaustible; her soul, ever in action, seems only to exist for the happiness of others.

She has only one ambition: that of giving plea-

sure to her husband. If in her youth any one had extolled the beauties of her person, and those good qualities of which I have endeavoured to convey a feeble idea, she would have felt a less lively satisfaction than if he had spoken to her of Arsames.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

New Enterprises of Philip.—Battle of Chæronea.—Portrait of Alexander.

GREECE had attained to the summit of her glory, and was to descend to that point of humiliation fixed by the destiny which incessantly agitates the balance of empires. This decline, which had long been apparent, was extremely sensible during my stay in Persia, and excessively rapid some years after. I shall hasten to the catastrophe of this great revolution, abridging the narrative of facts, and sometimes only making extracts from the journal of my travels.

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF NICOMACHUS.

The 4th year of the 109th Olympiad.

(From the 30th of June of the year 341, to the 19th of July of the year 340, before Christ.)

PHILIP had again formed the design of seizing on the island of Eubœa by his intrigues, and on the city of Megara by the arms of the Bœotians, his allies. In possession of these two important posts, he must soon have become master of the city of Athens. Phocion had made a second expedition into

Eubœa, and driven out the tyrants set up by Philip. He afterwards marched to the succour of the Megareans, defeated the project of the Bœotians, and freed the city from danger.[u]

Philip knew that if he could conquer the Grecian cities which are on the frontier of his dominions, on the side of the Hellespont and the Propontis, he would have in his power the trade for corn which the Athenians carry on in the Pontus Euxinus, and which is absolutely necessary to their subsistence.[x] With this view he attacked the strong town of Perinthus. The besieged made a resistance deserving the highest eulogiums. They expected succours from the king of Persia, and have received some from the Byzantines.[y] Philip, highly irritated against the latter, has raised the siege of Perinthus, and sat down under the walls of Byzantium, the inhabitants of which have immediately sent off deputies to Athens. They have obtained ships and soldiers, commanded by Chares.[z]

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF THEOPHRASTUS.

The 1st year of the 110th Olympiad.

(*From the 19th of July of the year 340, to the 8th of July of the year 339, before Christ.*)

GREECE has produced in my time several great men who do her honour, and especially three of

[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. page 766. Plut. in Phoc. t. i. page 748. [x] Demosth. de Coron. p. 487. [y] Diod. Sic. ibid. [z] Id. lib. 16. p. 468.

whom she may be proud: Epaminondas, Timoleon, and Phocion. I had but a glimpse of the two first, but I was intimately acquainted with the latter. I frequently visited him in the small house in which he resided, in the quarter of Melite.[a] I ever found him different from other men, but always resembling himself. When I felt my mind dejected at the sight of the various follies and crimes which degrade humanity, I went to seek relief for a moment in his conversation, and I returned more tranquil and more virtuous.

*The 13th of Anthesterion.** I yesterday was present at the representation of a new tragedy,[b] which was suddenly interrupted. The performer who acted the part of the queen refused to appear, unless attended by a more numerous retinue. When the spectators began to express their impatience, the manager, Melanthius, pushed the performer on the middle of the stage, exclaiming: "You require me to give you more attendants, and yet the wife of Phocion has only one when she appears in the streets of Athens."[c] These words, which were heard by the whole audience, were received with such loud bursts of applause, that, without waiting for the conclusion of the piece, I made all possible haste to the house of Phocion; where I found him drawing water from a well, and his wife kneading dough to make bread for his family.[d] At this sight I felt the liveliest emotion,

[a] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 750. * The 23d of February of the year 339 before Christ. [b] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxix. p. 176 et 183. [c] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 750. [d] Id. ib. p. 740.

and related with still more warmth what had just passed at the theatre. They heard me with indifference, as indeed I might have expected they would. Phocion paid but little regard to the praises of the Athenians, and his wife enjoyed greater pleasure in recollecting the noble actions of her husband, than in hearing the just applauses bestowed on them by his countrymen.[c]

He was disgusted with the inconstancy of the people, and still more filled with indignation at the meanness of the public orators. While he was speaking to me on the greediness of the latter, and the vanity of others, Demosthenes came in, and they entered into a conversation on the state of Greece at that time. Demosthenes wished to declare war against Philip, and Phocion to preserve peace.

The latter was persuaded that the loss of a battle must be followed by the conquest of Athens; that a victory would protract a war which the Athenians were too corrupted to be any longer in a condition to maintain; that far from irritating Philip, and furnishing him with a pretext to enter Attica, sound policy required that they should wait till he should exhaust his strength in distant expeditions, and suffer him to continue to expose a life, the termination of which would be the salvation of the republic.

Demosthenes could not consent to lay down the brilliant part he had acted. Since the last peace, two men of different genius, but equal obstinacy, had en-

[c] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 750. Id. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1131.

tered into a contest which attracted the eyes of all Greece. On the one side was seen a sovereign, ambitious to extend his dominion over all nations, subjugating some by his arms, and others by his emissaries; himself, though covered with scars, incessantly braving new dangers, and ready to surrender to Fortune whatever part of his body she should choose, provided he might be permitted to live in glory with the remainder:[f] and on the other, a private individual, laboriously struggling against the indolence of the Athenians, the blindness of their allies, the jealousy of their orators; opposing vigilance to craft, eloquence to armies; making his voice resound through all Greece, and incessantly warning all its states assiduously to watch every motion of the king of Macedon;[g] sending on all sides ambassadors, troops, and fleets, to oppose his enterprises; and succeeding so far as to make himself feared by the most formidable of conquerors.[h]

But the ambition of Demosthenes, which did not escape Phocion, was artfully concealed under the motives that he alleged ought to induce the Athenians to take arms: motives which I have more than once explained, and which these two orators discussed anew in the conference at which I was present. They both spoke with great vehemence: Demosthenes always with respect, and Phocion sometimes with asperity. As they were unable to agree, the former said, as he was going away: "The Athenians

[f] Demosth. de Cor. p. 483. C. [g] Id. ibid. p. 480. [h] Lucian. in Demosth. Encom. cap. 37. t. iii. p. 518.

in some fit of phrenzy will put you to death." "And you likewise," replied the latter, "should they recover their senses."[i]

*The 16th of Anthesterion.** This day four deputies have been named for the assembly of the Amphictyons, which is to be held in the ensuing spring at Delphi.[k]

The . . . . . † A general assembly has been held here. The Athenians, in the midst of their alarm at the siege of Byzantium, have received a letter from Philip, in which he accuses them of having violated several articles of the treaty of peace and alliance which they signed seven years ago.[l] Demosthenes has made an harangue, and, by his advice, which has been ineffectually combated by Phocion, the people have voted to break the column on which this treaty was inscribed, to equip ships, and make preparations for war.[m]

Some days before, information was received that the people of Byzantium would rather choose to have no succours sent to them by the Athenians, than to admit within their walls troops commanded by a general so detested as Chares.[n] The people have therefore appointed Phocion to take his place.

The 30th of Elaphebolion.‡ In the last assembly

[i] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 745. E. * The 26th of February of the year 339 before Christ. [k] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 446. Demosth de Cor. p. 498. † About the same time. [l] Liter. Phil. in Oper. Demosth. p. 114. Dionys. Halic. Epist. ad Amm. t. vi. p. 740. [m] Demosth. Orat. ad Phil. Epist. p. 117. Philoch. ap Dionys. Halic. t. vi. p. 741. [n] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747. ‡ The 10th of April of the year 339 before Christ.

of the Amphictyons, a citizen of Amphissa, the capital of the Ozolian Locrians, situate at the distance of sixty stadia from Delphi, uttered the most violent invectives against the Athenians, and proposed to condemn them to a fine of fifty talents,* for having formerly hung up in the temple some gilt bucklers as monuments of their victories over the Medes and Thebans.[o] Æschines, wishing to divert this accusation, represented that the inhabitants of Amphissa, having seized on the port of Cirrha and the neighbouring lands, a country originally consecrated to the temple, had incurred the punishment decreed against sacrilege. The next day the deputies of the league followed by a great number of Delphians, descended into the plain, burnt the houses, and in part filled up the port. The people of Amphissa ran to arms, and pursued the aggressors to the gates of Delphi.

The Amphictyons, filled with indignation, meditate a signal vengeance. Sentence will be pronounced in the council of Thermopylæ, which usually meets in autumn, but which this year will be held more early.[p]

This war was unexpected. Philip is suspected of having excited it, and some accuse Æschines of having acted in concert with that prince.[q]

The..... † Phocion encamped under the walls

* 270,000 livres (11,250*l.*) Pausan. lib. 10. c. 19. p. 848.

[q] Demosth. in Coron. p. 427. E.

[o] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 446.

[p] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 447.

† About May or June of the year 339 before Christ.

of Byzantium. As the integrity and virtue of that general is universally known, the magistrates of the city introduced his troops into the place. Their courage and discipline inspired the inhabitants with new confidence, and compelled Philip to raise the siege. To cover the shame of his retreat, he alleged that his honour obliged him to revenge an insult which he had received from a tribe of the Scythians. But before he went, he was careful to renew the peace with the Athenians,[r] who immediately forgot the decrees they had passed, and the preparations they had made against him.

The..... * Two decrees have been read in the general assembly, one passed by the Byzantines, and the other by some cities of the Hellespont. The purport of the former is, that, in gratitude for the succours which the people of Byzantium and Perinthus have received from the Athenians, they grant to them the freedom of their cities, permission to contract alliances and acquire lands and houses in them, the right of precedence at the public spectacles, and many other privileges. Three statues of sixteen cubits † each in height are to be erected at the Bosphorus, representing the people of Athens crowned by those of Byzantium and Perinthus.[s] In the second decree it is said that four cities of the Thracian Chersonesus, having been protected against Philip by the generosity of the Athenians, have resolved to

[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 468. * About the same time. † 22 feet 8 inches, Fr. (23 feet 9 inches, Eng.) [s] Demosth. de Coron. p. 487.

present him with a crown of the value of sixty talents,* and to erect two altars, one to Gratitude, and the other to the people of Athens.[t]

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF LYSIMACHIDES.

The 2d year of the 180th Olympiad.

(*From the 8th of July of the year 339, to the 28th of June of the year 338, before Christ.*)

THE . . . . . † In the assembly held at Thermopylæ, the Amphictyons have decreed that troops shall immediately march against the people of Amphissa, and have appointed Cottyphus general of the league. The Athenians and Thebans, who disapprove of this war, have not sent deputies to the assembly: Philip is still in Scythia, and will not soon return;[u] but it is presumed that even from those distant regions he has directed all the operations of the council.

The . . . . ‡ The unhappy inhabitants of Amphissa, vanquished in the first battle, had submitted to humiliating conditions; far, however, from fulfilling them, they have, in a second battle, repulsed the army of the league, and even wounded the general. This happened a short time before the last

* 324,000 livres (13,500l.) This sum is so great, that I suspect the text is corrupted in this place. [t] Demosth. de Coron. p. 488. † About the month of August of the year 339 before Christ. [u] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 448. ‡ In the spring of the year 338 before Christ.

meeting of the Amphictyons, which was held at Delphi. Some Thessalians, in the pay of Philip have intrigued with such success,[x] that he is appointed by the council to revenge the outrages committed on the temple of Delphi.[y] By the first sacred war he obtained a seat in the assembly of the Amphictyons, and this will place him permanently at the head of a confederation which may not be resisted without incurring the guilt of impiety. The Thebans can no longer dispute with him the pass of Thermopylæ.[z] They nevertheless begin to penetrate his views; and as he distrusts their intentions, he has commanded the states of Peloponnesus, which make a part of the Amphictyonic body, to assemble in the month of Boedromion,* with arms and provisions for forty days.

Discontent is general throughout Greece, Sparta observes a profound silence. The Athenians are undetermined and fearful. In one of the assemblies of the latter it was proposed to consult the Pythia. "*She Philipizes!*" exclaimed Demosthenes;[a] and the proposition fell to the ground.

In another assembly it was said that the priestess, when interrogated, had answered, that all the Athenians were of the same opinion except one. The partisans of Philip had suggested this oracle to render Demosthenes odious to the people: but he

[x] Demosth. de Cor. p. 498. [y] Id. ibid. p. 499. * This month began on the 26th of August of the year 338 before Christ. [z] Demosth. de Cor. p. 499. [a] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 499. Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 854.

diverted the blow, by applying it to Æschines. To end these puerile debates, Phocion said to them: "I am the man you seek, for I approve of nothing that you do."[b]

*The 25th of Elaphebolion.** The danger becomes every day more imminent, and the fears of the people increase in proportion. Those Athenians who last year resolved to break the treaty of peace which they had made with Philip, have sent ambassadors to him,[c] to engage him to observe this treaty, at least till the month of Thargelion.†

The first of Munychion.‡ Other ambassadors have been sent to the king of Macedon, for the same purpose,[d] and have brought back his answer, in which he says that he is not ignorant that the Athenians have endeavoured to detach from their alliance with him the Thessalians, Bœotians, and Thebans. He is willing, however, to grant their request, and sign a truce; but on condition that they no longer listen to the pernicious counsels of their orators.[e]

The 15th of Scirophorion. ‖ Philip has passed the strait of Thermopylæ, and entered Phocis. The neighbouring states were seized with terror; but as he solemnly declared that he only intended to attack the Locrians, they began to recover their confidence; when on a sudden he fell upon Elatea,[f] which is one

[b] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 745. * The 27th of March of the year 338 before Christ. [c] Demosth. de Coron. p. 500. † This month began on the 30th of April, in the year 338 before Christ. ‡ The 31st of March. [d] Demosth. de Coron. p. 500. [e] Id. ibid. p. 501. ‖ The 12th of June. [f] Demosth. de Cor. p. 498.

of the cities he was most careful to spare when he concluded the war with the Phocians. He intends here to establish and fortify himself. Perhaps he has even continued his march; in which case, if the Thebans, his allies, do not obstruct his progress, we shall see him, in two days, under the walls of Athens.[g]

The news of the taking of Elatea arrived this day. The Prytanes* were at supper. They immediately rose from table to consult on convening the assembly on the next day. Some sent for the generals and the trumpeter;† others ran to the forum, drove the traders from their stations, and set fire to their sheds.‡[h] The city is one scene of tumult, and a mortal terror has seized on all minds.

The 16*th of Scirophorion.* During the night the generals have hastened from every quarter, and the trumpet has sounded through all the streets.[i] At the break of day the senators assembled without coming to any determination. The people waited for them

[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 474. * These were fifty senators, who lodged in the Prytaneum, to watch over the important affairs of the state, and convene, when requisite, the general assembly. † Possibly (says Dr. Leland, in a note to his Translation of the Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown) to summon the assembly on this extraordinary occasion, when there was no leisure nor opportunity for the regular and usual method of convening the citizens. T. ‡ Wolfius asks, why? and for what purpose?—The answer, I apprehend, says Dr. Leland, is obvious. To clear the place for an assembly; and in their confusion and impatience they took the speediest and most violent method. T. [h] Demosth. de Coron. p. 501. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 474. [i] Id. ibid.

with impatience in the forum. The Prytanes have announced the intelligence they have received, which has been confirmed by the courier, in the presence of the generals and orators. The herald advanced, and asked, in the usual form, if any one chose to speak. All was terrifying silence. The herald repeated several times the same words. The silence still continued, and all eyes were anxiously turned towards Demosthenes. He arose. "If Philip," said he, "had completely gained over the Thebans to his interest, he would now be on the frontier of Attica. His intention in seizing a place so near to their territories was certainly only to unite the two factions into which they are divided in his favour, by inspiring his adherents with confidence, and terrifying his enemies. To prevent this union, it behoves us to forget all the subjects of animosity which have so long existed between us and Thebes our rival; to show to her the danger by which she is threatened, and an army ready to march to her assistance; to unite, if possible, with her by an alliance and oaths, which may secure the safety of the two republics and that of all Greece."

He afterwards proposed a decree of which the following are the principal articles: "After having implored the assistance of the gods who are the protectors of Attica, two hundred ships shall be equipped; the generals shall march the troops to Eleusis, and deputies shall be sent to all the cities of Greece. They shall immediately repair to Thebes, to exhort the Thebans to defend their liberty, to offer them

arms, troops, and money, and to represent to them that if Athens had hitherto believed that her honour demanded that she should dispute pre-eminence with them, she now thinks that it would be disgraceful to her, to the Thebans, and to all the Greeks, to submit to the yoke of a foreign power."

This decree has passed without the least opposition. Five deputies have been nominated, among whom are Demosthenes and the orator Hyperides. They will depart immediately.[k]

The . . . . . Our deputies found at Thebes the deputies of the allies of that city. The latter, after having lavished the greatest praises on Philip, and loaded the Athenians with reproaches, represented to the Thebans, that, in gratitude for the obligations they were under to the king of Macedon, they ought to permit him a free passage through their states,[kk] and even to join him in his invasion of Attica. They called their attention to the alternative; that either the spoils of Athens must be brought to Thebes, or those of the Thebans be carried to Macedon.[l] These arguments and menaces were urged with much force by one of the most celebrated orators of this age, Python of Byzantium, who spoke in behalf of Philip;[m] but Demosthenes replied with such superiority of eloquence, that the Thebans did not hesitate to receive within their walls an Athenian army, commanded by Chares and Stratocles.[n]* The project of

[k] Demosth. de Coron. page 505. [kk] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 1. c. 23. t. ii. p. 575. [l] Demosth. de Coron. page 509. [m] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. page 475. [n] Id. ibid. * Diodorus calls him

uniting the Athenians and Thebans is considered as a wondrous effort of genius, and its success as the triumph of eloquence.

The . . . . . Philip, while he waited for circumstances to become more favourable, determined to carry into execution the decree of the Amphictyons, and attack the city of Amphissa. But to approach it, it was necessary to force a defile defended by Chares and Proxenus, the former with a detachment of Thebans and Athenians, and the latter with a body of auxiliary troops which the Amphissæans had taken into their pay.[o] After some ineffectual attempts Philip contrived that a letter should fall into the hands of the generals, in which he had written to Parmenio, that the troubles which had unexpectedly arisen in Thrace required his presence, and obliged him to defer the siege of Amphissa till another opportunity. This stratagem succeeded; Chares and Proxenus neglected to defend the pass, on which the king immediately seized it, defeated the Amphissæans, and made himself master of their city.[p]

Lysicles; but Æschines (de Fals. Leg. p. 451.) and Polyænus (Stratagem. lib. 4. cap. 2. § 2.) call him Stratocles. The authority of Æschines ought to induce us to give the preference to this reading. [o] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 451. Demosth. de Coron. p. 509. [p] Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 4. c. 2. § 8.

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF CHARONDAS.

The 3d year of the 110th Olympiad.

n the 28th of July of the year 338, to the 17th of July of the year 337 before Christ.)

The . . . . . .* It appears that Philip wishes :erminate the war: he is to send ambassadors to The Thebans have opened a negociation, and on the point of concluding a treaty with him. ey have communicated to us his proposals, and 'ised us to accept them.[q]. Many persons here are opinion that their counsel should be followed: t Demosthenes, who believes he has humbled ilip, wishes completely to reduce and crush him. In the assembly of this day he openly declared the continuance of the war. Phocion was of a ntrary opinion. "When then," said the orator rperides to the latter, "would you advise war?"—When," replied Phocion, "I shall see our young n obedient to discipline, the rich contribute freely, dour orators no longer lavish the public treasure."[r] ne of those retainers to the law who pass their es in bringing public accusations before the trinals of justice, exclaimed: "How, Phocion! now e Athenians have arms in their hands, dare you opose to them to lay them down?"—"Yes, I re," replied he, "though I well know that I shall ve authority over you during war, and be in your wer in time of peace."[s]—The orator Polyeuctus

* In the beginning of July, in the year 338 before Christ. Æschin. in Ctes. p. 451. [r] Plut. in Phoc. t. ix p. 752. [s] Id. id. p. 748.

next began to speak. As he is extremely corpulent, and the weather was excessively hot, he sweated profusely, and could not continue his harangue, without calling every moment for a glass of water. "Athenians," said Phocion, "you have certainly reason to listen to such orators; for this man, who cannot speak four words to you without being in danger of suffocation, will no doubt perform wonders when, loaded with cuirass and buckler, he shall oppose the enemy."[t] As Demosthenes insisted much on the advantage of removing the seat of war into Bœotia, and thus keeping it at a distance from Attica, Phocion replied; "Let us not consider where we shall give battle, but where we may gain the victory."[u] The advice of Demosthenes has prevailed, and immediately after the rising of the assembly, he has set out for Bœotia.

The . . . . . Demosthenes has prevailed on the Thebans and Bœotians to break off all negociation with Philip. Every hope of peace has now vanished.[x]

The . . . . . Philip has advanced at the head of thirty thousand foot, and at least two thousand horse,[y] to Chæronea in Bœotia; he is not more than seven hundred stadia* distant from Athens.[z]

Demosthenes is present everywhere, and does everything. He communicates a rapid motion to the assemblies of the Bœotians, and the counsels of their generals.[a] Never has eloquence produced such

[t] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 746. [u] Id. ibid. p. 748. [x] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 451. [y] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 475. * 26¼ leagues. [z] Demosth. de Coron. p. 511. [a] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 452. Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 854.

great effects: she has excited in all minds the ardour of enthusiasm and the thirst of combats.[b] At her commanding voice the numerous battalions of the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Leucadians, and several other states, have been seen to advance towards Bœotia,[c] on which country astonished Greece has eagerly fixed her eyes, in anxious expectation of the event that is to decide her fate.[d] Athens is alternately agitated by all the convulsions of hope and terror. Phocion is calm and unmoved. I cannot be so, for Philotas is with the army. This, however, is said to be stronger than that of Philip.[e]

The battle is lost; Philotas is killed; I have no longer friends; Greece is no more; I must return to Scythia.

My journal here concludes: I had not power to continue it. It was my determination to depart immediately; but I could not resist the intreaties of the sister of Philotas, and Apollodorus her husband. I remained with them another year, and we wept together.

I shall now endeavour to recollect some circumstances of the battle. It was fought on the 7th of the month Metageitnion.[f]*

Never did the Athenians and Thebans display greater courage; the former had even broken the

[b] Theoph. ap. Plut. tom. i. p. 854. [c] Demosth. de Coron. p. 512. Lucian. in Demosth. Encom. cap. 39. tom. iii. p. 519. [d] Plut. in Demosth. tom. i. p. 854. [e] Justin. lib. 9. cap. 3. [f] Plut. in Camill. tom. i. p. 138. Corsin. de Nat. Die Plat. in Symbol. Lettr. t. vi. p. 95. * The 3d of August of the year 338 before Christ.

Macedonian phalanx; but their generals neglected to profit by the advantage they had gained. Philip, who perceived their error, coolly remarked that the Athenians knew not how to conquer, and restored order to his army.[g] He commanded the right, and his son Alexander the left wing; and both gave the most signal proofs of courage. Demosthenes was among the first who fled.[h] On the part of the Athenians, more than a thousand men fell by a glorious death, and more than two thousand were made prisoners. The loss of the Thebans was nearly equal.

The king at first suffered signs of an indecent exultation to escape him. After an entertainment, in which his officers and courtiers, following his example, indulged in the most intemperate revelry,[k] he repaired to the field of battle, where he was not ashamed to insult the dead bodies of those brave warriors whom he beheld extended at his feet, and began to declaim, beating time in derision, the decree which Demosthenes had drawn up to arm against him the states of Greece.[l] The orator Demades, though a prisoner and in chains, said to him: "Philip, you play the part of Thersites, when it is in your power to act that of Agamemnon."[m] These words restored him to himself. He threw away the chaplet of flowers that had been placed on his head, ordered Demades to be set at liberty, and rendered justice to the courage of the vanquished.[n]

[g] Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 4. cap. 2. [h] Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 855. [i] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 476. [k] Id. ibid. [l] Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 855. [m] Diod. Sic. lib 16. p. 477. [n] Plut. in Pelopid. t. i. p. 287.

He treated the city of Thebes, which had forgotten his favours, with more rigour. He left a garrison in the citadel, banished some of the principal inhabitants, and put others to death.[o] This example of severity, which he believed necessary, extinguished his anger, and the conqueror afterwards only exercised the utmost moderation. He was advised to secure to himself the possession of the strongest places in Greece; but he declared that he would rather choose the durable reputation of clemency than the transitory splendour of dominion.[p] It was suggested to him at least to take vengeance on the Athenians, who, by their obstinate resistance, had occasioned him so much trouble and disquietude: but he replied, "The gods forbid that I, who labour only for glory, should destroy the theatre of that glory."[q] On the contrary, he permitted the Athenians to carry off their dead, and set those who had been made prisoners at liberty; who, emboldened by his goodness, behaved with all that indiscretion and levity with which their nation has been reproached. They loudly demanded that their baggage should be restored to them, and preferred complaints against the Macedonian officers. Philip granted them the former request, but could not refrain from saying, with a smile, "Does it not seem as if we had only beaten the Athenians at the game of dice?"[r]

Some time after, and while the Athenians were making preparations to sustain a siege, Alexander,

[o] Justin. lib. 9. c. 4. [p] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 177. [q] Id. ibid. p. 178. [r] Id. ibid. p. 177.

the son of Philip, came, accompanied by Antipater, to offer them a treaty of peace and alliance.[s] I then beheld that Alexander who has since filled the earth with admiration and mourning. He was eighteen years of age, and had already signalized himself in several actions. At the battle of Chæronea he had broken and put to flight the right wing of the enemy's army. This victory added new lustre to the graces of his person. His features are regular, his complexion clear and ruddy; he has an aquiline nose, large eyes, full of fire and animation, yellow and curling hair; his neck is long, but his head inclines a little to the left shoulder; he is of a middle stature: his body is well proportioned, and rendered strong by continual exercise.[u] It is said that he is very swift of foot, and extremely attentive to his dress.[x] He entered Athens on a superb horse, which is named Bucephalus, which no person but himself had been able to govern,[y] and which cost thirteen talents.*

In a short time Alexander became the only subject of conversation. The grief in which I was absorbed prevented me from observing him with attention; but I afterwards made inquiries concerning him of an Athenian who had long resided in Macedonia, from whom I received the following information.

[s] Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 153. Demosth. de Coron. p. 514. [t] Justin. lib. 9. cap. 4. [u] Arrian. de Exped. Alexandr. lib. 7. p. 309. Plut. in Alexandr. tom. i. p. 666 et 678. Id. Apophth. t. ii. p. 179. Quint. Curt. lib. 6. c. 5. § 29. Solin. c. 9. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. cap. 14. Antholog. lib. 4. p. 314. [x] Ap. Aristot. Rhet. ad Alex. c. 1. tom. ii. p. 603. [y] Plut. in Alex. p. 667. Aul. Gell. lib. 5. c. 2. * 70,200 livres (2925*l.*)

This prince unites with great abilities and wit an insatiable desire of obtaining knowledge,[z] and a natural taste for the arts, which he protects without being greatly skilled in them. His conversation is extremely pleasing; he displays the utmost affability and fidelity in the intercourse of friendship,[a] and great elevation in his sentiments and ideas. Nature has implanted in him the germ, and Aristotle has explained to him the principles of every virtue. But amid such numerous advantages, he is actuated by a passion injurious to himself, and which may perhaps prove destructive to the human race—I mean the inordinate thirst of dominion, which is so conspicuous in his eyes, air, words, and minutest actions, that every one who approaches him feels himself penetrated with respect and fear.[b] He would aspire to be the sovereign of the whole world,[c] and the single depositary of human knowledge.[d] Ambition and all those illustrious qualities which we admire in Philip are found also in his son; but with this difference, that in the former they are mingled with qualities by which they are attempered; while in the latter, firmness degenerates into obstinacy, the love of glory into phrenzy, and courage into fury; for his will is as inflexible as Destiny, and rises with redoubled violence against every obstacle,[e] as the torrent impetuously rushes over the rock which obstructs it in its course.

[z] Isocr. Epist. ad. Alex. t. i. p. 466. [a] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 677. [b] Ælian Var. Hist. lib. 12. c. 14. [c] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 680. [d] Id. ibid. p. 668. Ap. Aristot. Rhet. ad Alex. c. l. t. ii. p. 609. [e] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 680.

Philip employs different means to attain his end; but Alexander knows no other than his sword. Philip did not blush to dispute the prize at the Olympic games with private individuals; but Alexander wished that kings alone might be his antagonists.[f] It seems as if a secret sentiment incessantly admonished the former, that he had arrived at the elevation to which he had attained only by dint of his labours and efforts; and the latter, that he was born in the bosom of greatness.*

Jealous of his father, he would wish to surpass him; and emulous of Achilles,[g] he will endeavour to equal him. He considers Achilles as the greatest of heroes, and Homer as the first of poets,[h] because he has immortalized Achilles. There are several features in which Alexander resembles the model he has chosen. He possesses the same violence of disposition, the same impetuosity in battle, and the same sensibility of soul. He once said that Achilles was the most fortunate of mortals, because he had possessed such a friend as Patroclus, and been celebrated by such a panegyrist as Homer.[i]

The negociation of Alexander was not protracted. The Athenians accepted the proffered peace, the conditions of which were extremely mild. Philip even

[f] Plut. in Alex. p. 666. Id. Apophth. t. ii. p. 179. * See the comparison between Philip and Alexander, in the excellent history of the former of those princes, given to the public in 1740 by M. Olivier of Marseilles (t. ii. p. 425.) [g] Plut. in Alex. p. 667. [h] Id. de Fort. Alex. orat. 1. t. ii. p. 327, 331, &c. Dion. Chrysost. de Regn. Orat. p. 19. [i] Plut. in Alex. t. p. 672. Cicer. pro Arch. c. 10. t. v. p. 315.

restored to them the Isle of Samos,[k] which he had taken some time before. He only required that they should send deputies to the congress which he was about to convene at Corinth, to deliberate on the general interests of Greece.[l]

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF PHRYNICUS.

The 4th year of the 110th Olympiad.

(From the 17th of July of the year 337, to the 7th of July of the year 336, before Christ.)

The Lacedæmonians refused to send any deputies to the congress held at Corinth. Philip complained of their neglect with haughtiness, but only received the following answer: "If you imagine yourself to be grown greater since your victory, measure your shadow; you will find that it has not lengthened a single inch."[m] Philip irritated, replied: "If I enter Laconia, I will drive you all out of the country." They returned him for answer the single word—"If."[n]

But an object of greater importance prevented him from carrying his threats into execution. The deputies of almost all the states of Greece being assembled, the king first proposed to them to terminate all the dissensions by which the Greeks had till then been divided, and establish a permanent council to watch over the preservation of universal peace. He afterwards represented, that it was time to take vengeance for the injuries and insults that Greece had formerly suffered from the Persians, and to carry

[k] Plut. in Alex. tom. i. p. 681. [l] Id. in Phoc. t. i. p. 748.
[m] Id. Apophth. Lacon. tom. ii. p. 218. [n] Id. de Garrul. t. ii.
p. 511.

the war into the dominions of the Great King.[o] Both these propositions were received with applause; and Philip was unanimously chosen general of the Grecian army, with the most ample powers. The number of troops which each city should furnish was fixed at the same time; and amounted in the whole to two hundred thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, without including the Macedonians, or the forces of the barbarous nations which had been subjected by Philip.[p] After these resolutions had passed, the king returned to Macedon to prepare for this glorious expedition.

The liberty of Greece then expired.[q] This country, so fruitful in great men, will long be held in servitude by the kings of Macedon. At this period I left Athens, notwithstanding every endeavour to induce me to prolong my stay; and returned into Scythia, divested of those prejudices which had disgusted me with my country. I now reside among a people who inhabit the banks of the Borysthenes, where I cultivate a small farm which once appertained to the sage Anacharsis my ancestor. I there enjoy the tranquillity of solitude; and I might add, all the pleasures of friendship, if the losses of the heart could ever be repaired. In my youth I sought happiness among enlightened nations; in a more advanced age I have found repose among a people who are only acquainted with the gifts and enjoyments of Nature.

[o] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 478. [p] Justin. lib. 9. c. 5. Oros. lib. 3. c. 14. [q] Oros. lib. 3. c. 13.

NOTES.

Note I.—Chap. lxxvi.—Page 83.

On an Inscription relative to the Festivals of Delos.

In the year 1739, the Earl of Sandwich brought from Athens to London a marble, on which was engraven a long inscription. It contains the statement of the sums that were due to the temple of Delos, both from individuals and from entire cities. The sums which had been paid, and those which had not, are specified. It also states the expense of the Theoria, or deputation of the Athenians, viz. For the crown of gold presented to the god, the workmanship included, 1500 drachmas (1350 livres—56*l.* 5*s.*); for the tripods given to the victors, the workmanship likewise included, 1000 drachmas (900 livres—36*l.* 10*s.*); for the architheori, a talent (5400 livres—225*l.*); for the captain of the galley which carried the Theoria, 7000 drachmas (6300 livres—262*l.* 10*s.*); for the purchase of 109 oxen for sacrifice, 8415 drachmas (7573 livres—315*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*), &c. &c.

This inscription, which has been elucidated by Mr. Taylor (*a*) and Father Corsini, (*b*) is of the year before Christ 373 or 372, and precedes the time in which I suppose Anacharsis to have travelled by only about thirty-two years.

Note II.—Chap. lxxix.—Page 146.

Whether the ancient Greek Philosophers admitted the Unity of God.

The first apologists for Christianity, and several modern authors, from their example, have maintained that the ancient philosophers

(*a*) Marmor Sandvicense, cum Comment. et Notis Joan. Taylor. (*b*) Corsini Dissert. in Append. ad Not. Græcorum.

acknowledged only one God. Other moderns, on the contrary, affirm that the passages which favour this opinion are only to be understood of Nature, the soul of the world, or the sun; and place almost all these philosophers among the number of the Spinozists and atheists. (*a*) But some critics have at length appeared, who, after having long applied themselves to the study of the philosophy of the ancients, have chosen the just medium between these two opinions. Among the number of these are Brucker and Mosheim, from whose researches I have derived considerable information.

Several causes contribute to render this important question obscure: I shall proceed to point out some of them; but I must first premise that the inquiry principally relates to the philosophers who preceded Aristotle and Plato; because it is of these only that I have spoken in my work.

1. The greater part of these endeavoured to explain the formation and preservation of the universe by the qualities of matter alone; and this method was so general, that Anaxogoras was censured for not having either always followed or never employed it. As, in the explanation of particular facts, he had recourse sometimes to natural causes, and sometimes to that Intelligence which, according to him, reduced chaos to order, Aristotle reprehends him solving difficulties by the machinery of a Divinity, (*b*) and Plato for not having exhibited to us in each phenomenon the ways of the Divine Wisdom. (*c*) We cannot, therefore conclude from the silence of the first natural philosophers that they did not admit a God, (*d*) or from some of their expressions that they meant to ascribe to matter all the perfections of the Divine Being.

2. Of all the philosophical works which were extant in the time of Aristotle, we only possess a part of his writings; a part of those of Plato; a small treatise, by Pythagorean Timæus of Locris, on the soul of the world; and a treatise on the universe, by Ocellus of Lucania, another disciple of Pythagoras. As the design of Ocellus in this tract was less to explain the formation of the world than to prove its eternity, he had not occasion to introduce the agency of a Deity. But, in one of his works, a fragment of which has been preserved by Stobæus, he said, that harmony preserves the world, and that God is the author of that harmony. (*e*) I wish not, however, to rest on his authority; but Timæus, Plato and Aristotle, have expressly taught the unity of God; and that not in cursory digressions, but in continued works, and the explanation of their systems founded on this opinion.

(*a*) Mosheim in Cudw. c. 4. § 26. tom. i. p. 681. (*b*) Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 4. t. ii. p. 844. (*c*) Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 98. (*d*) Bruck. t. i. p. 169. et 1174. (*e*) Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. c. 16. p. 32.

The writings of the other philosophers are lost. We only possess a few fragments of them, some of which declare expressly in favour of this doctrine; while others, though the number of these is very inconsiderable, seem to contradict it. Among the latter, there are some which are susceptible of different explanations, and others which have been collected and altered by authors of a different sect; such, for instance, as that Velleius whom Cicero introduces in his work on the Nature of the Gods, and whom he charges with having more than once disfigured the opinions of the ancients. (*f*) If, from such doubtful testimonies, we should judge of the opinions of the ancient philosophers, we should be in danger of acting by them as Father Hardouin, from a few detached expressions perverted from their true meaning, has by Descartes, Malebranche, Arnaud, and others, whom he has accused of atheism.

3. The first philosophers laid it down as a principle, that nothing can be made out of nothing. (*g*) Hence they concluded either that the world had always existed such as it is, or that, at least, matter is eternal. (*h*) On the other hand, there existed an ancient tradition, according to which all things had been arranged in order by the Supreme Being. (*i*) Many philosophers, unwilling to give up either the principle or the tradition, endeavoured to reconcile them. Some, as Aristotle, for example, said, that this Being had formed the world from all eternity; (*k*) and others, with Plato, that he had produced it in time, and from a pre-existing matter, without form, and destitute of the perfections which appertain only to the Supreme Being. (*l*) Both were so far from imagining that their opinion was injurious to the belief of a Deity, that Aristotle did not hesitate to acknowledge God as the first cause of motion, (*m*) and Plato to ascribe to him alone the order of the universe. (*n*) But though the most ancient philosophers were unacquainted with a creation, properly so called, many learned critics are decidedly of opinion, that they are not to be considered as atheists. (*o*)

(*f*) Sam. Parker. Disput. de Deo, disput. 1. sect. 6. p. 16. Reimman. Hist. Atheism. c. 22. § 6. p. 166. Bruck. t. i. p. 736. Mosheim. in Cudw. c. 1. § 7. not. (*y*) t. i. p. 16. (*g*) Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. i. p. 316. Id. de Gener. et Corrupt. lib. 1. c. 3. t. i. p. 499. A. Id. de Xen. c. 1. tom. i. p. 1241. Democr. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 9. § 44, &c. &c. (*h*) Mosheim. in Cudw. c. 1. § 31. t. i. p. 64. (*i*) De Mund. ap. Aristot. c. 6. tom. i. p. 610. (*k*) Aristot. de Cœlo. lib. 2. c. 1. t. i. p. 452. Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 1001. (*l*) Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 31, &c. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 8. t. ii. p. 403. (*m*) Aristot. Metaph. lib. 14. c. 7. t. ii. p. 1000, &c. (*n*) Plat. in Tim. Mosheim de Creat. ex Nihilo, § 16, &c. ap. Cudw. tom. ii. page 310, &c. (*o*) Cudw. c. 4. § 7. t. i. p. 276. Beausobr. Hist. du Manich. lib. 5. c. 5. t. ii. p. 239. Bruck. Hist. Philos. tom. i. p. 508. Zimmerm. de Atheism. Plat. in Amæn. Litter. t. xii. p. 387.

4. The ancients in general annexed a quite different idea to the words *incorporeal, immaterial, simple,* from that which they convey to us. (*p*) Some, it is true, appear to have conceived the Deity as a pure, indivisible, and unextended substance; (*q*) but by spiritual substance the greater part only understood an infinitely subtle matter. (*r*) This error subsisted during a long succession of ages, (*s*) and is even found in the writers whom the church reveres; and, according to some learned men, may be admitted without meriting the charge of atheism. (*t*)

5. Besides the loss of the philosophical works which I have mentioned above, we have to lament that servitude to which the ancient philosophers were reduced. The people contemned and ridiculed their gods, but would admit of no change in their religious opinions. Anaxagoras had said that the sun was only a red-hot stone, or a plate of burning metal. (*u*) He deserved censure as a natural philosopher, for advancing so absurd an opinion; but he was accused of impiety. Similar examples had long accustomed the philosophers to conceal their real sentiments; and hence the secret doctrine which it was not permitted to reveal to the profane. It is very difficult, says Plato, (*x*) to form a just idea of the Author of the universe; and, even could we conceive it, we must be careful not to make it public. Hence those equivocal expressions which, in some measure, reconcile error and truth. The name of God is among the number; the application of which, by an ancient abuse, had been extended to whatever throughout the universe excites our admiration, or is excellent among men for influence or power. It is found in the most religious authors, sometimes used in the singular, and sometimes in the plural number; (*y*) and, by its alternate appearance under each of these forms, both the populace and the learned were equally satisfied. When, therefore, an author gives the name of God to nature, to the soul of the world, or to the stars, we ought to inquire in what sense he employed the word; and whether, above all these subjects, he did not place one God the author of all things.

6. The remark is especially applicable to two opinions which were generally received among the nations of antiquity. The first of these supposed that, above the race of mortals, there were genii, appointed to

(*p*) Bruck. t. i. p. 690. Mosheim. in Cudw. c. 4. § 24. p. 630. (*q*) Anaxagor. ap. Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 7. t. ii. p. 851, A; de Anim. lib. 1. c. 2. t. i. p. 620, D; lib. 3. c. 5. p. 652, E. (*r*) Mosheim. in Cudw. c. 1. § 26. t. 1. p. 47. not. (*y*) Id. in c. 5. § 3. t. ii. p. 360. Beausobr. Hist. du Manich. liv. 4. c. 1. t. i. p. 474; c. 2. p. 482. (*s*) Mosheim. not. (D), in Cudw. c. 5. sect. 3. § 26. t. ii. p. 434. (*t*) Mosheim. in Cudw. c. 3. § 4. tom. i. p. 136. Beausobro. Hist. du Manich. liv. 3. c. 2. t. 1. p. 485. (*u*) Plut. de Superst. t. ii. p. 169. F. Sotion. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 12. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. 14. 14. p. 750. (*x*) Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 28. (*y*) Xen. Plat.

regulate the progress of the universe. If this idea did not derive its origin from an ancient and venerable tradition, it must at least have taken birth in those countries in which the sovereign confided the government of his kingdom to the vigilance of his ministers. It appears, in fact, that the Greeks received it from those nations who lived under a monarchical government: (*z*) and, besides, the author of a work falsely attributed to Aristotle, but nevertheless, very ancient, observes, that, since it is unsuitable to the dignity of the king of Persia to attend to all the minute affairs of his government, an inspection so laborious is less suitable to the Supreme Being. (*a*)

The second opinion had for its object that continuity of actions and re-actions which are observable throughout nature. Particular souls were imagined to reside in the loadstone, (*b*) and in all bodies which appeared to contain a principle of motion and life; and a universal soul was supposed to be diffused throughout all the parts of this great whole. This idea was not contrary to the truth; for we certainly may be permitted to say that God has inclosed in matter an invisible agent, or vital principle, which directs its operations. (*c*) But, by a consequence of that abuse of which I have before spoken, the name of God was sometimes given to the genii, and to the soul of the world; and hence the accusations brought against many philosophers, and in particular against Plato and Pythagoras.

As the former, as I have already said, employs the name of God sometimes in the singular, and sometimes in the plural, (*d*) he has been accused of inconsistency. (*e*) The answer to this charge was easy. In his Timæus, Plato, explaining his ideas in a regular manner, says that God formed the universe; and that he committed the government of it to subaltern gods, or genii, the works of his hands, the depositories of his power, and obedient to his commands. Here the distinction between the Supreme God and the other deities is so clearly expressed, that it is impossible it should be mistaken; and Plato might attribute both to the sovereign and his ministers the same views, and solicit from both the same favours. If he sometimes gives the name of God to the world, the heavens, the stars, the earth, &c. it is manifest that he only means the genii, and the souls that God has dispersed through the different parts of the universe to direct its motions. I have found nothing in his other works which contradicts this doctrine.

The accusations against Pythagoras are not less heavy, and do not appear to be better founded. He admitted, it is said, a soul diffused throughout all nature, and closely united with all beings, which it

(*z*) Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 415. (*a*) De Mund. ap. Aristot. c. 6. t. i. page 611. (*b*) Thales ap. Aristot. de Anim. lib. 1. cap. 2. tom. i. p. 620. D. (*c*) Cudw. c. 3. § 2. t. i. p. 99. Mosheim. ibid. (*d*) Plat. in Tim. tom. iii. p. 27. Id. de Leg. lib. 4. tom. ii. p. 716, &c. &c. (*e*) Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 12. t. ii. p. 406. Bayle. Contin. des Pens. t. iii. § 26.

moves, preserves, and incessantly reproduces; the eternal principle from which our souls have emanated, and to which he gave the name of God.(*f*) It is added, that, since he had no other idea of the Divine Being, he ought to be considered as an atheist.

Some learned critics, however, have undertaken his defence against this accusation; (*g*) which is solely founded on a small number of passages capable of a more favourable interpretation. Whole volumes would scarcely suffice to give even an abridgment of what has been written for and against this philosopher. I shall confine myself to a few reflections.

It cannot be proved that Pythagoras confounded the soul of the world with the Deity; but, on the contrary, every thing concurs to incline us to believe that he considered them as distinct. As we can only judge what his real sentiments were from those of his disciples, let us examine in what manner some of the latter have expressed themselves in those fragments of their writings that are still preserved.

God was not satisfied with having formed all things: he still preserves and governs them.(*h*) A general gives his orders to his army, a pilot to his mariners, and God to the world.(*i*) He is with respect to the universe what a king is with respect to his kingdom.(*k*) The universe could not subsist if it were not directed by harmony and providence.(*l*) God is good, wise and happy in himself.(*m*) He is considered as the father of gods and men, because he diffuses his benefits over all his subjects. He is the equitable legislator and enlightened preceptor, and governs all things with unremitting vigilance. It is our duty to model our virtues after his, which are pure and exempt from every gross affection.(*n*)

A king who fulfils his duties is the image of God.(*o*) The union which reigns between him and his subjects is the same with that which exists between God and the world.(*p*)

There is only one God, most exalted, most powerful, and who governs all things. There are other deities who possess different degrees of power, and who obey his commands. They are with respect to him what the chorus is to the coryphæus, and what the soldiers are to the general.(*q*)

(*f*) Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 11. t. ii. p. 405. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 62. Minuc. Felix. p. 121. Cyrill. ap. Bruck. t. i. p. 1075. Justin. Martyr. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 20. (*g*) Beausobr. Hist. du Manich. liv. 5. c. 2. t. ii. p. 172. Reimann. Histor. Atheism. c. 20. p. 150. et alii ap. Bruck. t. i. p. 1081. (*h*) Stheneid. ap. Stob. serm. 46. p. 332. (*i*) Archyt. ibid. serm. 1. p. 15. (*k*) Diotog. ibid. serm. 46. page 330. (*l*) Hippod. ibid. serm. 101. p. 555. lin. 26. (*m*) Stheneid. ibid. p. 332. Euryphant. ibid. p. 555. (*n*) Stheneid. ibid. Archyt. ibid. serm. 1. p. 13. (*o*) Diotog. ap. Stob. serm. 46. p. 330. (*p*) Ecphant. ibid. p. 304. (*q*) Onatus, ibid. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 4.

These fragments so expressly contradict the idea which some have wished to give us of the opinions of Pythagoras, that several critics (r) have suggested that their authenticity is doubtful; but their opinion has been combated by other learned men equally versed in criticism. (s) And, in fact, the doctrine contained in these fragments is conformable to that of Timæus, who expressly distinguishes the Supreme Being from the soul of the world, which he supposes to have been produced by that Being. But it has been pretended that he had altered the system of his master. (t) Thus, to condemn Pythagoras, it shall suffice to adduce some passages, collected by writers who were posterior by five or six hundred years to that philosopher, and who possibly mistook the true sense of his words; and, to justify him, it shall not be sufficient to cite a multitude of authorities which depose in his favour, and especially that of one of his disciples who lived almost at the same time with him; and who, in a work which has been transmitted to us entire, explains a system connected in all its parts!

We may, however, after the example of several able critics, reconcile the testimony of Timæus with the opposite testimonies which are brought against him. Pythagoras acknowledged one Supreme God, the author and preserver of the world; a Being infinitely good and wise, who extends his providence over all things. This is attested by Timæus, and the other Pythagoreans of whose works the fragments I have cited above are the remains. Pythagoras supposed that God vivifies the world by a soul so connected with matter that it cannot be separated from it. This soul may be considered as a subtle fire, as a pure flame. Some Pythagoreans gave it the name of God, because they bestowed that name on every thing which came out of the hands of the Supreme Being. This, unless I am mistaken, is the only manner in which those passages which occasion doubts concerning the orthodoxy of Pythagoras can be explained.

Lastly, It is possible that some Pythagoreans, wishing to present us with a sensible image of the action of God upon all nature, have thought that he exists undivided in every place, and that he *informs* the universe as our soul informs our body. This is the opinion which the high priest of Ceres seems to attribute to them in chapter xxx. of this work. I made use of it in that place, that I might repeat the expressions of the authors I have cited in the margin, and not decide on questions which it is equally difficult and useless to discuss. For, in fact, it is not from some equivocal expressions, and a long train of principles and consequences, that we must judge of the real sentiments of Pythagoras; but, by his practical morality, and especially by that

(r) Conring. et Thomas. ap. Bruck. t. i. p. 1040 et 1102. (s) Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 52. (t) Bruck. t. i. p. 1093.

institution which he founded, of the associates, in which he made it one of the principal duties to meditate on the Divinity; (u) to consider themselves as ever in his presence; and to merit his favours by various kinds of abstinence, by prayer, meditation, and purity of heart. (x) It must be confessed that these pious exercises are little suitable to a society of Spinozists.

7. Let us now hear the author of the Thoughts on the Comet: "What is the state of the question, when we reason philosophically concerning the unity of God? It is to inquire whether there be an Intelligence perfectly simple, totally distinct from matter and the form of the world, and which produces all things. He who affirms this, believes there is but one God; but he who does not affirm it, how much soever he may ridicule the numerous deities of paganism, and declare his abhorrence of a multitude of gods, must in reality admit an infinity of gods." Bayle adds, that it would be very difficult to find, among the writers of antiquity, any who have admitted the unity of God, without understanding a compound substance. "Now, such a substance is only one improperly, and by an abuse of terms; or under the arbitrary notion of a certain whole, or a collective being." (y)

If to be ranked among the number of polytheists it is sufficient not to entertain just ideas concerning the nature of spirits; we must, according to Bayle himself, condemn not only Pythagoras, Plato, Socrates, and all the ancients, (z) but likewise almost all those who, down to our times, have written on these subjects. For let us observe what he says in his Dictionary: (a) "Until the time of M. Descartes, all our doctors, whether divines or philosophers, had ascribed extension to spirits; infinite to God, and finite to angels and rational souls. It is true, they maintain that this extension is not material, nor composed of parts; and that spirits exist entire in every part of space that they occupy. Hence are derived three kinds of local presence; the first that of bodies, the second that of created spirits, and the third that of God. The Cartesians have overthrown all these opinions: they say that spirits have no kind of extension, or local presence; but their doctrine has been rejected as absurd. We may therefore say that all our philosophers and divines will teach, conformably to the popular idea, that the substance of God is extended through infinite space. But it is certain that this is to ruin on the one side what they have erected on the other; it is in fact again to attribute to God that materiality which they had denied to be consistent with his nature."

The question, therefore, is not such as it has been stated by Bayle:—

(u) Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 69. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 686. Aur. Carm. (x) Iambl. c. 16. p. 57. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1313. Diod. Sic. Excerpt. Val. p. 245 et 248. (y) Bayle Contin. des Pens. t. iii. § 66. (z) Mosheim. in Cudw. c. 4. § 27. not. (n), p. 684. (a) Art. Simonide. not. K.

but turns on the inquiry whether Plato, and other philosophers antecedent to Plato, have acknowledged one First Being, eternal, infinitely intelligent, and infinitely wise and good, who has formed the universe from all eternity, or in time: who preserves and governs it by himself or by his ministers; and who has appointed, in this world or in another, rewards to virtue, and punishments for guilt. These doctrines are clearly expressed in the writings of almost all the ancient philosophers. If they are accompanied by gross errors concerning the essence of the Deity, we reply that these authors did not perceive them, or at least did not believe that they destroyed the unity of the Supreme Being. (*b*) We will likewise affirm, that it is not just to reproach writers who are no more, with consequences which they would probably have rejected, had they known the danger to which they were exposed. (*c*) We likewise declare that it is not our intention to maintain that the philosophers of whom we speak entertained equally just ideas of the Deity with ourselves; but only that they were in general as remote from atheism as from polytheism.

Note III —Chap. LXXIX.—Page 154.

On the Moral Theology of the ancient Greek Philosophers.

The first writers of the church carefully collected such testimonies of the poets and Grecian philosophers as were favourable to the opinion of the unity of God, that of a providence, and other truths equally essential. (*d*)

They believed also that they ought to compare the morality of Christianity with that which the ancient philosophers have taught to various nations: and acknowledge that the latter, notwithstanding its imperfection, had prepared the minds of men to receive the much more pure precepts of the former. (*e*)

In these modern times, several works have appeared, which treat on the religious doctrines of the pagans; (*f*) and some truly learned critics, after having investigated the subject with the most careful attention, have acknowledged that, on certain points, it merits the highest encomiums. The following is the testimony of M. Freret with respect

(*b*) Mosheim. Dissert. de Creat. ap. Cudw. t. ii. p. 315. (*c*) Id. in Cudw. c. 4. t. i. p. 685. (*d*) Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5 et 6. Lactant. Divin. instit. lib. 1. c. 5. August. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8. c. 9; lib. 18. c. 47. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 11. Minuc. Felix, &c. &c. (*e*) Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 331, 366, 376. &c. (*f*) Mourg. Plan. Theolog. du Pythagor. Thomassin, Meth. d'enseigner les Lettres Hum. Id. Meth. d'enseigner la Philosophie. Burigny, Theolog. Paienn. Cudw. Syst. Intellect. passim.

to the most essential of its doctrines: "The Egyptians and the Greeks, therefore, knew and adored the Supreme God, though in a manner unworthy of him." (*g*) As to their morality, let us hear the celebrated Huet, bishop of Avranches: *Ac mihi quidem sæpe numero contigit, ut cum ea legerem quæ ad vitam rectè probèque instituendam, vel a Platone, vel ab Aristotle, vel a Cicerone, vel ab Epicteto tradita sunt, mihi viderer ex aliquibus Christianorum scriptis capere normam pietatis.* (*h*)*

Authorised by such great examples, and obliged by the plan of my work to give a sketch of the moral theology of the Greeks, I am nevertheless far from supposing that it can enter into competition with that taught by Christianity. Without expatiating on the excellences which distinguish the work of Divine Wisdom, I shall confine myself to a single article. The legislators of Greece were satisfied with saying, *Honour the gods.* The gospel says, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself.* (*i*) Saint Augustin affirms that this law, which contains within it, and gives life to all the rest, was in part known to Plato. (*k*) But what Plato taught in this respect was only a consequence of his theory concerning the sovereign good; and had so little influence on the morality of the Greeks, that Aristotle declares it would be absurd to say that we love Jupiter. (*l*)

Note iv.—Chap. LXXX.—Page 166.

On some Citations in this Work.

At the period which I have chosen, hymns and other poems were circulated in Greece, which were attributed to very ancient poets: but persons of learning knew so well they were not authentic, that Aristotle even doubted whether any such poet as Orpheus had ever existed. (*m*) Afterwards the most celebrated names were placed at the head of a number of writings, the true authors of which were unknown. Such are some treatises found at present in the editions of the works of Plato and Aristotle. I have quoted them sometimes under the names of those great men, for brevity, and because they are inserted in their works.

(*g*) Def. de la Chronol. p. 379 et 380. (*h*) Huet. Alnetan. Quæst. lib. 2. p. 92. * For frequently while I have read the moral lessons inculcated in the works of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, or Epictetus, I have imagined that I was reading the pious precepts of Christian writers. (*i*) Luke, chap. x. v. 27. (*k*) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8. c. 9. (*l*) Aristot. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. c. 11. t. ii. p. 187. D. (*m*) Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 38. t. ii. p. 429.

NOTE V.—Same Chap.—PAGE 167.

On the Number of Theatrical Pieces extant in Greece towards the Middle of the Fourth Century before Christ.

ON the authority of Suidas, Athenæus, and other authors, whose testimonies have been collected by Fabricius, (*n*) I have made the number of these pieces amount to about three thousand. The estimates of the same writers, with respect to each article in particular, do not merit equal regard. But it must be observed, that they have cited a great number of dramatic authors who lived before the younger Anacharsis, or in his time, without specifying the number of pieces they wrote. If there be exaggeration on one side, there is omission on the other; and the result cannot greatly differ from the estimate I have given. If, instead of confining myself to a particular period, I had followed the whole history of the Greek theatre, the number would perhaps have been tripled or quadrupled. For, in the few works which can be of use in the present inquiry, mention is made of about three hundred and fifty poets, who had written tragedies and comedies. (*o*)

We only possess, entire, seven dramatic pieces of Æschylus, seven of Sophocles, nineteen of Euripides, and eleven of Aristophanes; in the whole, forty-four. To these may be added the nineteen comedies of Plautus, and the six of Terence, which are copies or imitations of Greek comedies.

Time has spared no branch of Grecian literature. Historical compositions, works relative to the sciences, systems of philosophy, treatises on politics, morals, medicine, &c. have almost all perished. The writings of the Romans have experienced the same fate. Those of the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, and several other enlightened nations, have been lost in almost one general wreck.

The copies of a work were formerly multiplied with so much labour, such great wealth was requisite to collect even a small library, that it was with the utmost difficulty that knowledge penetrated from one country to another, or was even preserved in the place where it had originated. This consideration ought to render us very circumspect with regard to the knowledge which we grant or refuse to the ancients.

The defect of the means to preserve and communicate their discoveries, which so often obstructed the philosophers of antiquity in their researches, is no longer an impediment to the moderns. The art of printing, that happy offspring of chance, and the most important perhaps of all inventions, facilitates and preserves the intercourse of ideas

(*n*) Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 736. (*o*) Id. ibid. t. i. p. 662 et 736.

between all ages and nations. Knowledge once acquired can now never become extinct; and may perhaps be increased to a degree as much superior to that we at present possess, as our attainments in science are superior to those of the ancients. The influence which the art of printing has hitherto had, and that which it may have in future on the minds of men, would be an excellent subject to discuss.

NOTE VI.—Same Chap.—PAGE 182.

On the Griphi and Impromptus.

The word *griph* (γρίφος) signifies a net, and was the name given to certain enigmatical questions which were sportively proposed during an entertainment, and which the guests were frequently puzzled to unravel.(*p*) Those who were unable to answer them was subjected to a forfeit.

There were different kinds of griphi. Some were properly enigmas. Such is the following: "I am very large at my birth, and likewise in old age; but very small when at maturity."(*q*) *A Shadow.*—Such also is this: "There are two sisters who incessantly beget each other."(*r*) *Day and Night;* both which words are feminine in Greek.

Other griphi turn on the resemblance of names; as, for example—"What is that which is at once found on the earth, in the sea, and in the heavens?"(*s*) *The dog, the serpent, the bear.* The names of these animals have been given to certain constellations.

Others were formed by a play on letters, syllables, or words. It was required perhaps to recite a verse which began with a certain letter, or one in which another certain letter was not found, or one which began and ended with certain syllables; (*t*) or verses, the feet of which were composed of the same number of letters, or which might be transposed without injury to the sense or harmony. (*u*)

The latter griphi, and some others which I might adduce, (*x*) having some resemblance to the French *logogriphes,* I have thought I might be allowed to give them that name in Chap. xxv. of this work.

The poets, and especially the writers of comedies, frequently made use of griphi. It appears that collections of them have been compiled; and it is one of these collections which I suppose Euclid to have had in his library.

(*p*) Suid. in Γρῖφ. Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 20. (*q*) Theodect. ap. Athen. lib. 10. c. 18. p. 451. F. (*r*) Id. ibid. (*s*) Id. ibid. c. 20. p. 453. B. (*t*) Id. ibid. c. 16. p. 448. D. (*u*) Theodect. ap. Athen. lib. 10. c. 20. p. 453. D. (*x*) Id. ibid.

I have said in the same place that he also had in his library certain impromptus; and have cited in the margin a passage from Athenæus, who has given us six verses of Simonides, composed extempore. Some may hence be inclined to inquire whether the practice which in Italy is called *improvisating* was known to the Greeks, who were endowed with an imagination at least as lively as that of the Italians, and whose language was still better adapted to poetry than the Italian. The following are two facts, one of which is prior by two centuries, and the other posterior by three, to the time in which I suppose Anacharsis to have travelled. 1. The first essays of tragedy were entirely extempore, and Aristotle gives us to understand that they were in verse. (*y*) 2. Strabo mentions a poet of Tarsus in Cilicia, who lived in his time, and who could declaim in such elegant verse on any proposed subject, that he seemed to be immediately inspired by Apollo. He especially succeeded in subjects for tragedy.(*z*) Strabo adds, that this talent was not uncommon among the inhabitants of Tarsus; (*a*) and hence, no doubt, is derived the epithet *Tarsicus*, which was given to certain poets who produced, without premeditation, tragic scenes at the pleasure of those by whom they were requested.(*b*)

(*y*) Aristot. de Poet. c. 4. t. ii. p. 654. E. et 655. B. (*z*) Strab. lib. 14. p. 676. (*a*) Id. ibid. p. 674. (*b*) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. § 58. Menag. ibid.

ADVERTISEMENT

CONCERNING

THE FOLLOWING TABLES.

I HAVE imagined that these Tables might be useful to those who should read, and also to those who should not read, the Travels of the Younger Anacharsis.

The first contains the principal epochs of the Grecian history to the reign of Alexander. I have carefully examined them all; and though I have chosen the most able guides, I have not implicitly followed their opinion, but compared them with those of other chronologists.

I have given tables of the measures, weights, and money of Athens; because these frequently occur in my work. The tables of the itinerary measures of the Romans were necessary to ascertain those of the Greeks.

I have given no tables of the cubic measures of the ancients, nor of the money of the different states of Greece; because I have rarely had occasion to speak of these, and have found only uncertainty in my inquiries concerning them.

In subjects of this kind we frequently can only obtain, by our most elaborate researches, the right to confess our ignorance; and this I think that I have acquired.

CONTENTS OF THE TABLES.

N.B. Three new Tables, marked with an asterisk, have been added to the twelve of the former Edition, according to the wish of M. Barthelemy, who frequently recommended the subject of them to the Compiler of the Table of Illustrious Men.

I. Principal Epochs of the Grecian History from the Foundation of the Kingdom of Argos to the end of the Reign of Alexander.

*II. Attic Months, with the names of the Festivals.

*III. Tribunals and Magistrates of Athens.

*IV. Greek Colonies.

V. Names of Persons who have distinguished themselves in Literature and the Arts, from the Arrival of the Phœnician Colony in Greece, to the establishment of the School of Alexander.

VI. Names of Illustrious Men, arranged in Alphabetical Order.

VII. Roman Measures reduced to French (and English.)

VIII. Roman Feet reduced to French (and English) Feet.

IX. Roman Paces reduced to French Toises (and English Yards.)

X. Roman Miles reduced to French Toises (and English Miles, &c.)

XI. Grecian Feet reduced to French (and English) Feet.

XII. Stadia reduced to French Toises, Roman Miles (and English Measures.)

XIII. Stadia estimated in French Leagues of 2500 Toises each.

XIV. Athenian Money reduced to French (and English.)

XV. Grecian Weights reduced to French (and English.)

Alphabetic Table of Comparative Geography adapted to the Travels of Anacharsis.

TABLE I.

g the principal Epochs of the Grecian History, from the tion of the Kingdom of Argos, to the End of the Reign of der.

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rill be proper to premise that, for the dates preceding the first of iads, I have almost always followed the calculations of the late as he has given them either in his work entitled *Defense de la Chro-* in the several papers of which he is the author, in the Memoirs demy of Belles Lettres. In the dates posterior to the first Olym- re commonly followed the *Fasti Attici* of Father Corsini.

n this new Edition, several dates have been corrected, and some ed, from ancient monuments, and the works of the most able chro- particularly that of the learned Larcher on the chronology of He-

	Years before C.
d by Inarchus to Argos.	1970
s, his son	1945
Ogyges in Bœotia	1796
Cecrops to Athens.	1657
Cadmus to Thebes.	1594
Danaus to Argos.	1586
f Deucalion in the environs of Parnassus, or in the rn part of Thessaly.	1580
he arts in Greece.	1547
Perseus at Argos	1458
on of Troy	1425

	Years before C.
Birth of Hercules	1384
Arrival of Pelops in Greece	1362
Expedition of the Argonauts may be placed about the year	1360
Birth of Theseus	1346
First war of Thebes between Eteocles and Polynices, sons of Œdipus	131
War of Theseus against Creon, king of Thebes	1314
Reign of Atreus, son of Pelops, at Argos	1310
Second war of Thebes, or war of the Epigoni	1307
Taking of Troy seventeen days before the summer solstice	1270
Conquest of the Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ	1190
Death of Codrus, the last king of Athens; and institution of the perpetual archons in that city	1132
Emigration of the Ionians into Asia Minor, where they founded the cities of Ephesus, Miletus, Colophon, &c.	1130
Homer about the year	900
Restoration of the Olympic Games by Iphitus	884
Legislation of Lycurgus	845
Death of Lycurgus	841
Nicander, son of Charilaus, king of Lacedæmon	824

EIGHTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

Olymp. Yr.		Years bef. C.
1.	OLYMPIAD in which Corœbus gained the prize of the stadium, and which has since been made the principal æra of chronology	776
	(Each Olympiad contains four years; each of which, beginning at the new moon that follows the summer solstice, corresponds to two Julian years, and includes the six last months of the first and the six first months of the following.)	
2.—3.	Theopompus, grandson of Charilaus, and nephew of Lycurgus, ascends the throne of Lacedæmon	770
5.—3.	The people of Chalcis in Eubœa send a colony to Naxos in Sicily	758
	Foundation of Crotton.	
4.	Foundation of Syracuse by the Corinthians	757
	Foundation of Sybaris.	
6.—3.	Charops, first decennial archon at Athens	754
7.—1.	The people of Naxos in Sicily send a colony to Catana	752
9.—2.	Beginning of the first Messenian war	743
14.—1.	End of the first Messenian war	724
	The double course of the stadium introduced at the Olympic games.	
18.—1.	Re-establishment of wrestling and the pentathlum at the Olympic games	708
19.—2.	Phalantus, a Lacedæmonian, conducts a colony to Tarentum	703

SEVENTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

24.—1.	CREON, first annual archon at Athens	684
3.	Beginning of the second Messenian war	682
	About the same time the poet Tyrtæus flourished.	
25.—1.	Race for chariots with four horses instituted at Olympia towards the year	680
26.—1.	Institution of the Carnæan games at Sparta	676
28.—1.	The second Messenian war ended by the taking of Eira	668
	A colony of Messenians, Pylians, and Methonæans settle at Zancle in Sicily, which city afterwards takes the name of Messana	667

Olymp.	Yr.		Years bef. C.
29.	—2.	Cypselus obtains the throne of Corinth, and reigns 30 years	663
		Byzantium founded by the people of Megara.	
33.	—1.	The combat of the pancratium instituted at the Olympic games	648
34.	—1.	Terpander, poet and musician of Lesbos, flourished	644
35.	—1.	Birth of Thales of Miletus, founder of the Ionian school	640
	3.	Birth of Solon	638
37.	—1.	Running and wrestling of children introduced at the Olympic games	632
38.	—1.	Death of Cypselus, tyrant of Sicyon. His son Periander succeeds him	628
39.	—1.	Archonship and legislation of Draco at Athens	624
41.	—1.	Boxing between children instituted at the Olympic games	616
42.	—1.	Murder of the adherents of Cylon at Athens	612
	2.	Alcæus and Sappho flourished	611
	3.	Birth of the philosopher Anaximander	610
43.	—1.	Birth of Pythagoras	608
		He died aged about ninety years.	

SIXTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

44.	—2.	FOUNDATION of Massilia or Marseilles	599
	4.	Eclipse of the sun predicted by Thales, which took place during the battle between Cyaxares king of the Medes and Alyattes king of Lydia on the 21st of July, at a quarter past five in the morning	597
		Epimenides of Crete purifies the city of Athens from the pollution incurred by the murder of the adherents of Cylon.	
46.	—1.	Solon induces the council of the Amphictyons to resolve to march their forces against the people of Cirrha, accused of impiety towards the temple of Delphi	59
	3.	Archonship and legislation of Solon	59
47.	—1.	Arrival of the sage Anacharsis at Athens	59
	3.	Pittacus begins to reign at Mytilene	59
		He retains the sovereign power during ten years.	
		Taking and destruction of Cirrha.	
48.	—4.	Competition of musicians instituted at the Pythian games	58
		These games were celebrated at Delphi in the spring.	
49.	—4.	First Pythiad, serving for an epoch to calculate the years in which the public games were celebrated at Delphi	581

Olymp. Yr.		Years. bef. C
50.—1.	First attempts in comedy by Susarion.....	580
	Pittacus abdicates the tyranny of Mytilene.	
	Some years after Thespis makes his first essays in tragedy.	
51.—2.	Anaximander, philosopher of the school of Miletus, becomes celebrated.....	575
3.	Æsop flourished.....	574
4.	Solon travels into Egypt: arrives at Sardes.....	573
54.—2.	Death of Periander, after a reign of seventy years. The Corinthians recover their liberty.....	563
55.—1.	Cyrus ascends the throne. Beginning of the empire of the Persians.....	560
	Pisistratus usurps the sovereign power at Athens.	
2.	He is driven from that city.....	559
	Solon dies aged eighty years.	
3.	Birth of the poet Simonides of Ceos.....	558
4.	Re-establishment of Pisistratus.....	557
57.—3.	The poet Theognis flourished.....	550
58.—1.	Burning of the temple of Delphi, afterwards rebuilt by the Alcmeonidæ.....	548
59.—1.	Battle of Thymbra. Crœsus king of Lydia is defeated. Cyrus takes the city of Sardes.....	544
	Death of Thales, the philosopher.	
61.—1.	Thespis represents his Alcestis. Prizes instituted for tragedy.....	536
62.—1.	Anacreon flourished.....	532
4.	Death of Cyrus. His son Cambyses succeeds him..	529
63.—2.	Death of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens.....	527
	His sons Hippias and Hipparchus succeed him.	
4.	Birth of the poet Æschylus.....	525
64.—1.	Chœrilus, the tragic author, flourished.....	524
3.	Death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, after a reign of eleven years.....	522
4.	Darius, son of Hystaspes, begins his reign in Persia..	521
65.—2.	Birth of Pindar.....	519
66.—4.	Death of Hipparchus, tyrant of Athens, killed by Harmodius and Aristogiton.....	513
67.—1.	Darius retakes Babylon.....	512
	Hippias driven from Athens.	
4.	Clisthenes, archon at Athens, increases the number of the tribes from four to ten.....	509
	Tumult at Croton against the Pythagoreans, who are driven out of Magna Græcia.	
68.—1.	Expedition of Darius against the Scythians.....	508
69.—1.	Ionia revolts against Darius. Burning of Sardes,...	504

FIFTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

Olymp. Yr.		Years bef. C.
70.—1.	RACE for chariots drawn by two mules introduced at the Olympic games	500
	Birth of the philosopher Anaxagoras.	
	Æschylus, at the age of twenty-five years, is a competitor for the prize in tragedy with Pratinas and Chœrilus.	
3.	Birth of Sophocles	498
4.	The Samians seize on Zancle in Sicily	497
71.—1.	Taking and destruction of Miletus by the Persians. Phrynicus, the disciple of Thespis, makes it the subject of a tragedy. He first introduced female characters on the stage	496
	Birth of Democritus. He lived ninety years.	
2.	Birth of the historian Hellanicus, of Lesbos	495
72.—2.	Gelon seizes on Gela	491
3.	Battle of Marathon, gained by Miltiades the 6th of Boedromion (September 13th)	490
4.	Miltiades having been unsuccessful in the siege of Paris, is prosecuted, and dies in prison	489
73.—1.	Chionides of Athens brings a comedy on the stage	488
2.	Death of Darius king of Persia. Xerxes, his son, succeeds him	487
4.	Birth of Euripides	485
	Gelon makes himself master of Syracuse.	
	Birth of Herodotus.	
74.—4.	Xerxes passes the winter at Sardes	481
	Xerxes crosses the Hellespont in the spring, and continues there a month.	
75.—1.	Battle of Thermopylæ, the 6th of Hecatombæon (August 7).—Xerxes arrives at Athens towards the end of that month	480
	Battle of Salamis the 20th of Boedromion (October 19).	
	The same day the Carthaginians are defeated at Himera by Gelon.	
	Birth of the orator Antiphon.	
2.	Battles of Platæa and Mycale, the 4th of Boedromion (22d of September)	479
	Taking of Sestos.	
	Conclusion of the History of Herodotus.	
76.—3.	Death of Gelon. Hiero, his brother, succeeds him	474
	The walls of Athens rebuilt.	
77.—1.	An eruption of Vesuvius	472
	Banishment of Themistocles by the ostracism	471

Olymp. Yr.		Years bef. C
77.—1.	Victory of Cimon over the Persians near the river Eurymedon	470
	Birth of Thucydides.	
	Æschylus and Sophocles dispute the prize of tragedy, which is adjudged to the latter	469
	Birth of Socrates, the 6th of Thargelion, (June 5).	
	Cimon removes the bones of Theseus to Athens.	
78.—1.	Death of Simonides, aged a hundred years	468
2.	Death of Aristides	467
4.	Death of Xerxes. Artaxerxes Longimanus succeeds him, and reigns forty years	465
79.—1.	Earthquake in Lacedæmon	464
	Third Messenian war. This war lasted ten years	
	Heraclitus of Ephesus flourished.	
4.	Cimon leads a body of Athenian troops to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, who, suspecting them of perfidy, send them back; which becomes a source of misunderstanding between the two states. Banishment of Cimon	461
80.—1.	Birth of Hippocrates	460
	Ephialtes diminishes the authority of the Areopagus.	
2.	Birth of the orator Lysias	459
81.—1.	Death of Æschylus	456
	The Athenians under the conduct of Tolmides, and afterwards under that of Pericles, lay waste the coasts of Laconia.	
2.	Cratinus and Plato, poets of the ancient comedy	455
82.—1.	Ion brings his tragedies on the stage	452
	Death of Pindar.	
3.	Truce for five years between the states of Peloponnesus and the Athenians concluded by Cimon, who had been recalled from banishment, and who soon after led an army into Cyprus	450
	Death of Themistocles, aged sixty-five years.	
4.	Cimon obliges the king of Persia to sign a treaty with the Greeks dishonourable to that monarch	449
83.—3.	Death of Cimon.	
	The Eubœans and Megareans separate from the Athenians, who reduce them, under the conduct of Pericles	446
	Expiration of the truce of five years between the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians. Another truce of thirty years.	
84.—1.	The philosophers Melissus, Protagoras, and Empidocles, flourished	444
	Herodotus reads his history at the Olympic games	444
	Pericles remains without competitors. He had taken part in the government for twenty-five years before, and enjoyed an almost absolute power during fifteen years after.	
3.	Euripides, aged forty-three years, gains the prize for tragedy for the first time	442
85.—3.	The Athenians send a colony to Amphipolis	438

Olymp. Yr.		Years bef. C.
83.—3.	Building of the Propylæa in the citadel of Athens.	
	Inauguration of the statue of Minerva made by Phidias.	
	Death of Phidias.	
	The orator Antiphon flourished.	
	Restoration of comedy, which had been prohibited three years before.	
86.—1.	The war between the Corinthians and Corcyreans commences.....	436
	Birth of Isocrates.	
	Then flourished the philosophers Democritus, Empedocles, Hippocrates, Gorgias, Hippias, Prodicus, Zeno of Elea, Parmenides, and Socrates.	
87.—1.	The 27th of June, Meton observed the summer solstice, and invented a new cycle, which he made commence at the new moon which followed the summer solstice, and corresponded to the 1st of Hecatombæon (16th of July)	432
	The civil year, before, began with the new moon which followed the winter solstice. It afterwards commenced with that which follows the summer solstice, at which time also the new archons entered on their office.	
2.	Beginning of the Peloponnesian war, in the spring of the year.....	431
3.	Plague of Athens.....	430
	Eupolis begins to write comedies.	
	Birth of Plato, the 7th of Thargelion (June 6.).....	429
4.	Death of Pericles, towards the month of Boedromion (October).	
88.—1.	Death of Anaxagoras	428
2.	The Athenians seize on Mytilene, and divide among them the lands of Lesbos	427
	The orator Georgias persuades the Athenians to succour the Leontines in Sicily.	
3.	Eruption of Ætna.....	426
4.	The Athenians purify the isle of Delos	425
	The Athenians take Pylos in Peloponnesus.	
	Death of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Xerxes II. succeeds him.	
89.—1.	Battle of Delium between the Athenians and Bœotians, in which the latter gain the victory. Socrates there saves the life of young Xenophon....	424
	Death of Xerxes II. the king of Persia. Sogdianus succeeds him, and reigns seven months.	
	First representation of the Clouds of Aristophanes...	423
2.	The temple of Juno at Argos burnt, in the 56th year of the priesthood of Chrysis.	
	Darius II. surnamed Nothus, succeeds Sogdianus.	
3.	Battle of Amphipolis, in which Brasidas the general of the Lacedæmonians, and Cleon the general of the Athenians are slain.....	422
	Truce for fifty years concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.	

Olymp. Yr.		Years bef. C.
89.—4.	The Athenians, under various pretexts, break the truce, and enter into an Alliance with the Argives, the Eleans, and the Mantineans.....	421
90.—1.	Re-establishment of the inhabitants of Delos by the Athenians	420
3.	Taking of Himera by the Carthaginians	418
91.—1.	Alcibiades gains the prize at the Olympic games.....	416
	The Athenians reduce Melos.	
2.	Expedition of the Athenians into Sicily.....	415
3.	The truce for fifty years concluded between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, ends by an open rupture, after having continued six years and ten months	414
4.	The Lacedæmonians seize on and fortify Decelia	413
	The army of the Athenians is totally defeated in Sicily. Nicias and Demosthenes put to death in the month of Metageitnion, which began the 15th of August.	
	Banishment of Hyperbolus. The ostracism laid aside.	
92.—1.	Alcibiades forsakes the Lacedæmonians	412
	Diocles gives laws to the Syracusans.	
	Four hundred citizens placed at the head of the government towards the beginning of the month Elaphebolion, the first of which corresponded to the 27th of February.	
2.	The four hundred deposed, four months after.	
	End of the History of Thucydides, which concludes at the 21st year of the Peloponnesian war.	
93.—2.	Death of Euripides	407
3.	Dionysius the Elder ascends the throne of Syracuse ..	406
	Death of Sophocles, in his ninety-second year.	
	Battle of Arginusæ, in which the fleet of the Athenians defeats that of the Lacedæmonians.	
4.	Lysander gains a signal victory over the Athenians near Ægos Potamos	405
	Death of Darius Nothus. Artaxerxes Mnemon succeeds him.	
	Athens taken by the Lacedæmonians the 16th of Munychion (April 24.)	
94.—1.	Lysander establishes at Athens thirty magistrates, known by the name of the Thirty Tyrants	404
	Their authority abolished eight months after.	
2.	The democracy re-established at Athens. Archonship of Euclid. Amnesty.....	403
	Adoption of the Ionic alphabet.	
	Expedition of the younger Cyrus.	

FOURTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

Olymp. Yr.		Years bef. C.
95.—1.	DEATH of Socrates, towards the end of Thargelion (May)	400
3.	Conclusion of the History of Ctesias	398
96.—1.	Defeat of the Carthaginians by Dionysius of Syracuse	396
3.	Conon defeats the Lacedæmonians near Cnidus	394
4.	Agesilaus, king of the Lacedæmonians, defeats the Thebans at Coronea	393
	Conon rebuilds the walls of the Piræus.	
97.—1.	The Athenians, under the conduct of Thrasybulus, make themselves masters of a part of Lesbos	392
2.	Thucydides is recalled from banishment, and dies	391
98.—2.	Peace of Antalcidas between the Persians and Greeks	387
	Beginning of the History of Callisthenes.	
3.	Birth of Demosthenes	386
99.—1.	Birth of Aristotle	384
100.—1.	Death of Philoxenus, the dithyrambic poet	380
3.	Pelopidas, and the other exiles from Thebes, leave Athens, and seize the citadel of Thebes which had been taken by the Lacedæmonians a short time before	378
4.	Naval battle near Naxos, in which Chabrias, the Athenian general, defeats the Lacedæmonians	377
101.—1.	Eubulus of Athens, author of several comedies	376
2.	Timotheus, the Athenian general, takes Corcyra, and defeats the Lacedæmonians at Leucas	375
3.	Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia, gives peace to Greece. The Lacedæmonians preserve the empire of the land, and the Athenians obtain that of the sea	374
	Death of Evagoras, king of Cyprus.	
4.	Platæa destroyed by the Thebans	373
	Earthquakes in Peloponnesus. The cities of Helice and Bura destroyed.	
	Appearance of a comet in the winter of 373 and 372.	
102.—1.	Battle of Leuctra the 5th of Hecatombæon (July 18.) The Thebans, commanded by Epaminondas, defeat the Lacedæmonians under the command of their king Cleombrotus, who is slain	372
	Foundation of the city of Megalopolis in Arcadia.	
2.	Expedition of Epaminondas into Laconia—Foundation of the city of Messene	371
3.	Death of Jason, tyrant of Pheræ	370

Ep.	Yr.		Years bef. C.
[illegible]	—4.	The Athenians, under the command of Iphicrates, come to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians . .	369
		Aphareus, the adopted son of Isocrates, begins to write tragedies.	
[illegible]	—1.	Eudoxus of Cnidus flourished	368
		Death of Dionysius the Elder, king of Syracuse. His son, of the same name, succeeds him in the spring of the year.	
	2.	Aristotle comes to reside at Athens when eighteen years of age	367
[illegible]	—1.	Pelopidas attacks and defeats Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ, and is himself slain in the battle	364
	2.	Battle of Mantinea, and death of Epaminondas, on the 12th of the month Sciropborion (the 4th July)	363
		Death of Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmon.	
	3.	Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Ochus succeeds him.	362
		Conclusion of the History of Xenophon.	
		Third voyage of Plato into Sicily towards the beginning of the year.....	361
		He remained there fifteen or sixteen months.	
[illegible]	—1.	Philip ascends the throne of Macedon.....	360
		Beginning of the History of Theopompus.	
	3.	The Social War. The islands of Chios, Rhodes, and Cos, and the city of Byzantium, detach themselves from the Athenians.....	358
	4.	Expedition of Dion into Sicily. He embarks at Zacynthus in the month of August of the year	357
		Eclipse of the moon the 19th of September, at 11h. 45m. A.M.	
[illegible]	—1.	Birth of Alexander, on the 6th of Hecatombæon (July 22), the day the temple of Diana was burnt at Ephesus	356
		Philip, his father, crowned conqueror at the Olympic games about the same time.	
		Conclusion of the History of Ephorus; his son Demophilus continues it.	
	2.	Beginning of the third Sacred War. Taking of Delphi, and pillage of its temple by the Phocians	355
	3.	Iphicrates and Timotheus prosecuted, and deprived of the command of the army	354
	4.	Death of Mausolus, king of Caria. Artemisia, his wife and sister, succeeds him, and reigns two years	353
[illegible]	—1.	Demosthenes pronounces his first harangue against Philip of Macedon	352
	4.	The Olynthians, besieged by Philip, implore succour from the Athenians	349
[illegible]	—1.	Death of Plato	348
		End of the third Sacred War.	
	2.	Treaty of alliance and peace between Philip and the Athenians	347
		The deputies of Philip take their seats in the assembly of the Amphictyons.	

Olymp. Yr.		Years bef. C.
108 —3.	Philip seizes on the cities of Phocis, destroys them, and compels the inhabitants to take up their residence in the villages	346
109.—2.	Timoleon drives the younger Dionysius from Syracuse, and sends him to Corinth	343
3.	Birth of Epicurus on the 7th of Gamelion (January 12)	342
	Birth of Menander about the same time.	
4.	Appearance of a comet near the equinoctial	341
110.—3.	Battle of Chæronea the 7th of Metageitnion (August 2)	338
	Death of Isocrates, aged a hundred and two years.	
4.	Timoleon dies at Syracuse	337
111.—1.	Death of Philip, king of Macedon	336
2.	Pillage of Thebes	335
	Passage of Alexander into Asia.	
	Battle of the Granicus.	
4.	Battle of Issus	333
112.—1.	Taking of Tyre	332
	Foundation of Alexandria.	
2.	Total eclipse of the moon the 20th of September, at 7h. 30m. P.M.	331
	Battle of Gaugamela, or Arbela, the 26th of Boedromion (October 3).	
3.	Death of Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia	330
	Commencement of the period of Calippus, the 25th of Posideon (December 20).	
113.—1.	Philemon begins to produce his comedies.	
2.	Defeat of Porus by Alexander	327
114.—1.	Death of Alexander at Babylon, aged thirty-three years and eight months, on the 29th of Thargelion (June 1)	323
	On the same day Diogenes the Cynic dies at Corinth, aged ninety years.	
2.	The Lamiac war: Antipater is defeated	323
	Aristotle, after having taught thirteen years in the Lycæum, flies to Chalcis, and there dies.	
3.	End of the Lamiac war. The Athenians receive the law of the victor	322
	Demosthenes, having taken refuge in the island of Calauria, is compelled to put himself to death on the 16th of Pyanepsion, which corresponded to the 12th of November, according to the cycle of Calippus, and following the order of the Attic months pointed out in the following table.	

TABLE II.

ATTIC MONTHS.

From the time of Theodorus Gaza, a learned Greek of Thessalonica, who died at Rome in 1478, to that of Edward Corsini, the most able chronologist of the present age, the order of the ancient months of the Attic year has been continually rendered more uncertain and confused. Barthelemy alone, attaching himself to no system, has re-established this order with respect to the fourth and fifth months, and assigned to the others their true place. Of this he has given convincing proofs in his Observations on the Choiseul Marble. The perfect agreement on this subject, which is found between him and a Greek anonymous writer, appears to us at once remarkable, and a strong confirmation of the opinion of Barthelemy. This Greek writer, it is true, did not live till the time of the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II.; but he cites more ancient authors, from whom he gives the succession of Attic months in the same order assigned to them by Barthelemy. The work of this anonymous author has remained in manuscript, and is to be found in the National Library. *Manus. Cod. Gr. in* 8vo. No. 1630.

It was still extremely difficult to fix the day of each festival. Apollonius, and several ancient grammarians, had written works on this subject; but they are unfortunately all lost, and we are reduced to a small number of passages in the authors of antiquity, which are neither clear nor very decisive. Though Corsini has made use of them with much success, he was not able to determine the day of a great number of festivals, the names of which have come down to us. We have gone further, by making use of a fragment of the Rustic Calendar, preserved among the Oxford Marbles, which that learned man had neglected -- and from some new observations.

The correspondence of the year of the Athenians with our solar year did not enter into the work we proposed. We shall only observe, that this people, to make these two years correspond, employed several cycles. In the time of Solon there was one of four years. Cleostratus and Harpalus invented others. The latter caused his *Heccœdecaeteris*, or period of sixteen years, to be adopted, which preceded the *Enneade-*

caeteris, or period of nineteen years, of Meton. The latter was corrected by Calippus, about the time of the death of Alexander. The year was at first purely lunar, that is to say, consisted of three hundred and fifty-four days: afterwards it was civil and lunar, and consisted of three hundred and sixty. It began, before Meton, at the winter solstice, and after his time at the summer solstice. In order to render more apparent the result of such a change, with respect to the correspondence between the Attic months and ours, two Tables are added relative to it. This subject, no doubt, requires still more ample elucidations: but to attempt them would carry us too far; and we must refer the reader to the works of different chronologists — among others to that of Dodwell *De veteribus Græcorum Romanorumque Cyclis.*

N. B. — In the following table the days of the sittings of the Areopagus are given from Julius Pollux; and the festivals the days of which cannot be ascertained, are placed at the bottom of the page.

ATTIC MONTHS.

HECATOMBÆON.

	Days of the Month.	FESTIVALS.
Μηνος ἱσταμενου, Beginning of the Month.	1	Neomenia, and sacrifice to Hecate. Eiseteria, sacrifice and repast, in common, of the magistrates and generals.
	2	
	3	
	4	
	5	Battle of Leuctra.
	6	
	7	Day dedicated to Apollo. Connideia in honour of the tutor of Theseus.
	8	Festival of Neptune and Theseus.
	9	
	10	
Μηνος μεσου, Middle of the Month.	11	
	12	Cronia in honour of Saturn.
	13	
	14	Lesser annual Panathenæa in honour of Minerva.
	15	
	16	Metœcia, or Xynœcia, in memory of the union of the boroughs of Attica.
	17	
	18	
	19	
	20	Theoxenia in honour of foreign gods.
Μηνος φθινοντος, End of the Month.	21	
	22	Sittings of the Areopagus.
	23	
	24	
	25	
	26	
	27	
	28	The great quinquennial Panathenæa in honour of Minerva.
	29	Androgeonia, an expiatory festival in memory of the death of Androgeus the son of Minos.
	30	

HECATOMBÆA, in honour of Juno.
HALOA, in honour of Ceres.

METAGEITNION.

	Days of the Month.	FESTIVALS.
Μηνος ἰσαμένου, Beginning of the Month.	1	Neomenia, and sacrifice to Hecate.
	2	Sacrifice to the Eumenians.
	3	
	4	
	5	
	6	
	7	Day dedicated to Apollo.
	8	Festival of Neptune and of Theseus.
	9	
	10	
Μηνος μεσοντος, Middle of the Month.	11	
	12	
	13	
	14	
	15	
	16	
	17	
	18	
	19	
	20	
Μηνος φθινοντος, End of the Month.	21	
	22	
	23	Sittings of the Areopagus.
	24	
	25	
	26	
	27	
	28	
	29	
	30	

METAGEITNIA, in honour of Apollo.

BOEDROMION.

		FESTIVALS.	
Beginning of the Month.	1	Neomenia, and sacrifice to Hecate.	
	2		
	3		
	4	Victory at Platæa, and quinquennial Eleutheria.	
	5		
	6	Victory at Marathon.	
	7	Festival of Apollo, and of Pan.	
	8	Day consecrated to Theseus.	
	9		
	10		
Middle of the Month.	11		
	12	Charisteria, or thanksgiving for the restoration of liberty by Thrasybulus.	
	13		
	14	Cock-fighting instituted by Themistocles in commemoration of the battle of Salamis.	
	15	Agyrmos, or the assembling of the initiated.	Eleuinia, or greater mysteries.
	16	Procession of the initiated to the sea. Victory of Chabrias at Naxos.	
	17	Day of fasting.	
	18	General sacrifice.	
	19	Lampadophoria, or procession with torches.	
	20	Pomp, or procession of Iacchus. Victory at Salamis.	
End of the Month.	21	Solemn return of the initiated.	
	22	Epidauria, or commemoration of the initiation of Æsculapius.	
	23	Plemochoæ; mystical effusion of water.	
	24	Gymnastic games at Eleusis.	
	25	Battle of Gaugamela, or, as usually called, of Arbela.	
	26		
	27		
	28		
	29		
	30		

Boedromia, in honour of Apollo.

PYANEPSION.

	Days of the Month.	FESTIVALS.
Μηνος ισταμενα, Beginning of the Month.	1	Neomenia, and sacrifice to Hecate.
	2	
	3	
	4	
	5	
	6	
	7	Pyanepsia, in honour of Apollo and Diana. Oschophoria, in honour of Bacchus.
	8	Festival of Theseus.
	9	
	10	
Μηνος μεσετος, Middle of the Month.	11	Stenia, preparation for the Thesmophoria.
	12	
	13	
	14	Commencement of the Thesmophori.
	15	Second day of that festival, consecrated especially to Ceres.
	16	Day of fasting, observed by the women who celebrated the festival.
	17	Zemia, or expiatory sacrifice offered by them.
	18	Diogma, or the pursuit; the last day of this festival.
	19	
	20	Feriæ.
Μηνος φθινοντος, End of the Month.	21	
	22	Dorpia, or the banquet, } Apaturia, in honour of Bacchus.
	23	Anarrysis, or the sacrifice, } Apaturia, in honour of Bacchus.
	24	Coureotis, or the shaving, } Apaturia, in honour of Bacchus.
	25	
	26	
	27	
	28	
	29	
	30	Chalceia, or Pandemon, festival in honour of Vulcan, celebrated by all the smiths in Attica.

MÆMACTERION.

	Days of the Month.	FESTIVALS.
Μηνος ἱσταμενου, Beginning of the Month.	1	Neomenia, and sacrifice to Hecate.
	2	
	3	
	4	
	5	
	6	
	7	Day consecrated to Apollo.
	8	Festival of Theseus.
	9	
	0	
Μηνος μεσουντος, Middle of the Month.	11	
	12	
	13	
	14	
	15	Procrosia, the festival of seed time in honour of Ceres.
	16	Funeral festival, in memory of the Greeks slain at the battle of Platæa.
	17	
	18	
	19	
	20	Mæmacteria, in honour of Jupiter.
Μηνος φθινοντος, End of the Month.	21	
	22	Sittings of the Areopagus.
	23	
	24	
	25	
	26	
	27	
	28	
	29	
	30	

POSIDEON.

	Days of the Month.	FESTIVALS.
Μηνος ἱσταμενου, Beginning of the Month.	1	Neomenia, and sacrifice to Hecate.
	2	
	3	
	4	
	5	
	6	
	7	Day consecrated to Apollo.
	8	Festival of Theseus—Poseidia, or festival of Neptune.
	9	Festival of the Winds.
	10	
Μηνος μεσσου, Middle of the Month.	11	
	12	
	13	
	14	
	15	
	16	
	17	
	18	
	19	
	20	
Μηνος φθινοντος, End of the Month.	21	
	22	
	23	Sittings of the Areopagus.
	24	
	25	
	26	
	27	
	28	Theonia, Ascolia, Iobaccheia, — Dionysia of the Fields, or of the Piræus.
	29	
	30	

GAMELION.

	Days of the Month.	FESTIVALS.
Μηνος ἱσαμενη, Beginning of the Month.	1	Neomenia, and sacrifice to Hecate.
	2	
	3	
	4	
	5	
	6	
	7	Day consecrated to Apollo.
	8	Festival of Theseus.
	9	
	10	
Μηνος μεσεγος, Middle of the Month.	11	
	12	
	13	
	14	
	15	
	16	
	17	
	18	
	19	
	20	Cittophoria, in honour of Bacchus.
Μηνος φθινοντος, End of the Month.	21	
	22	Sittings of the Areopagus.
	23	
	24	
	25	
	26	
	27	
	28	
	29	
	30	

GAMELIA, in honour of Juno.

ANTHESTERION.

	Days of the Month.	FESTIVALS.
Μηνος ἱσαμενε, Beginning of the Month.	1	Neophoria and Hydrophoria, a mournful festival in commemoration of the Deluge.
	2	
	3	
	4	
	5	
	6	
	7	Day consecrated to Apollo.
	8	Festival of Theseus.
	9	
	10	
Μηνος μεσετος, Middle of the Month.	11	Pithœgia } Dionysia Lenæa.
	12	Choes } Dionysia Lenæa.
	13	Chytri } Dionysia Lenæa.
	14	
	15	
	16	
	17	
	18	
	19	
	20	
Μηνος φθινοντος, End of the Month.	21	Diasia, a festival celebrated without the city to Jupiter Meilichius.
	22	} Sittings of the Areopagus.
	23	} Sittings of the Areopagus.
	24	} Sittings of the Areopagus.
	25	Lesser Mysteries.
	26	
	27	
	28	
	29	
	30	

ELAPHEBOLION.

	Days of the Month	FESTIVALS.
Μηνος ἐναμενα, Beginning of the Month.	1	Neomenia, and sacrifice to Hecate.
	2	
	3	
	4	
	5	
	6	
	7	Day consecrated to Apollo.
	8	Festival of Theseus; and Asclepia, or festival of Æsculapius.
	9	
	10	
Μηνος μεσατος, Middle of the Month.	11	..... Dionysia of the city.
	2	Phellos Dionysia of the city.
	3	..... Dionysia of the city.
	14	Pandia, festival of Jupiter.
	5	Cronia, in honour of Saturn.
	16	
	17	
	18	
	9	
	20	
Μηνος φθινοντος, End of the Month.	21	Sittings of the Areopagus.
	22	
	23	
	24	
	25	
	26	
	27	
	28	
	29	
	30	

ELAPHEBOLIA, in honour of Diana.
ANACEIA, festival of Castor and Pollux.

MUNYCHION.

	Days of the Month.	FESTIVALS.
Μηνος ἱσταμενου, Beginning of the Month.	1	Neomenia, and sacrifice to Hecate.
	2	
	3	
	4	
	5	
	6	Delphinia, in honour of Apollo.
	7	Day of the birth of that god.
	8	Festival of Theseus.
	9	
	0	
Μηνος μεσου, Middle of the Month.	11	
	12	
	13	
	14	
	15	
	16	Munychia, festival of Diana, in memory of the victory at Salamis, in Cyprus.
	17	
	18	
	19	Equestrian Diasia, or cavalcade in honour of Jupiter.
	20	
Μηνος φθινοντος, End of the Month.	21	
	22	Sittings of the Areopagus.
	23	
	24	
	25	
	26	
	27	
	28	
	29	
	30	Heracleia, a rural festival in honour of Hercules.

THARGELION.

	Days of the Month.	FESTIVALS.
Μηνος ἱσαμερη, Beginning of the Month.	1	Neomenia, and sacrifice to Hecate.
	2	
	3	
	4	
	5	
	6	Birth of Diana } Thargelia.
	7	Birth of Apollo } Thargelia.
	8	Festival of Neptune and of Theseus.
	9	
	10	Annual Delia, in honour of Apollo—Lustration of Athens.
Μηνος μεσος, Middle of the Month.	11	
	12	
	13	
	14	
	15	
	16	
	17	
	18	
	19	Callynteria, a mourning festival in commemoration of the death of Agraulus, the daughter of Cecrops.
	20	Bendidia, in honour of Diana.
Μηνος φθινοντος, End of the Month.	21	
	22	} Sittings of the Areopagus.
	23	} Sittings of the Areopagus.
	24	} Sittings of the Areopagus.
	25	Plynteria, a mourning festival in honour of Minerva.
	26	
	27	
	28	
	29	
	30	

QUINQUENNIAL DELIA.

SCIROPHORION.

	Days of the Month.	FESTIVALS.
Μηνος ἱσαμενε, Beginning of the Month.	1	Neomenia, and sacrifice to Hecate.
	2	
	3	
	4	
	5	
	6	
	7	Day consecrated to Apollo.
	8	Festival of Neptune and of Theseus.
	9	
	10	
Μηνος μεσετος, Middle of the Month.	11	
	12	Scirophoria, in honour of Minerva, Ceres, and Proserpine.—Battle of Mantinea.
	13	
	14	Diipoleia, or Bouphonia: Sacrifice of Oxen to Jupiter Polieus, or protector of the city.
	15	
	16	
	17	
	18	
	19	
	20	Adonia, mourning festival in commemoration of the death of Adonis.
Μηνος φθινοντος, End of the Month.	21	
	22	Sittings of the Areopagus.
	23	
	24	
	25	Horaia; sacrifice to the Sun and the Hours.
	26	
	27	
	28	Annual Heracleia, in honour of Hercules.
	29	
	30	Sacrifice to Jupiter Saviour.

ARREPHORIA: or HERSEPHORIA, in honour of Minerva.

Correspondence of the Attic Months with those of the European Calendar, in the first Year of the 81st Olympiad, the 448th Year before Christ.

Winter Months.

1st of Gamelion	- - -	February 6.
1st of Anthesterion	- - -	March 8.
1st of Elaphebolion	- - -	April 6.

Spring Months.

1st of Munychion	- - -	May 6.
1st of Thargelion	- - -	June 4.
1st of Scirophorion	- - -	July 4.

Summer Months.

1st of Hecatombæon	- - -	August 2.
1st of Metageitnion	- - -	September 1.
1st of Boedromion	- - -	September 30.

Autumnal Months.

1st of Pyanepsion	- - -	October 30.
1st of Mæmacterion	- - -	November 28.
1st of Posideon	- - -	December 28.

N.B.—This Table shows the order of the months, according to the cycle of Harpalus; and the following according to that of Meton. In both these periods a thirteenth month (Posideon II.) was intercalated, to adjust, at certain time, the lunar, or civil and lunar, years, to the course of the sun.

Correspondence of the Attic Months with those of the European Calendar, in the first Year of the 92d Olympiad, the 413-412 Year before Christ.

Summer Months.

1st of Hecatombæon - - -	July 6.
1st of Metageitnion - - -	August 4.
1st of Boedromion - - -	September 5.

Autumnal Months.

1st of Pyanepsion - - -	October 2.
1st of Mæmacterion - - -	November 1.
1st of Posideon - - -	November 30.

Winter Months.

1st of Gamelion - - -	December 30.
1st of Anthesterion - - -	January 28.
1st of Elaphebolion - - -	February 27.

Spring Months.

1st of Munychion - - -	March 28.
1st of Thargelion - - -	April 27.
1st of Scirophorion - - -	May 27.

TABLE III.

TRIBUNALS AND MAGISTRATES OF ATHENS.

In Chap. XVI. (Vol. II. p. 244.) the tribunals and magistrates of Athens are treated of. It cannot be doubted, that if M. Barthelemy had himself edited this new edition of his work, he would have added more circumstantial information on this subject, either in a note or a table constructed for that purpose. The latter we have here endeavoured to supply: it will be found to contain elucidations relative to several articles which M. Barthelemy has passed over in silence. In compiling it we have availed ourselves of every thing to be found in Harpocration, Julius Pollux, and the ancient printed lexicographers, as well as in Photius and Eudemus, whose works still remain in manuscript. Though the orators, historians, and other authors of antiquity, do not furnish satisfactory information on this head, we have nevertheless consulted them with care. Among the modern writers who have treated this subject, Sigonius is to be preferred: but the accounts he gives are not always accurate, nor sufficiently complete.

TRIBUNALS.

1. The ECCLESIA (Εκκλησια) or General Assembly.
2. The SENATE (Βυλη) or Council of Five Hundred.
3. The AREOPAGUS (Αρειως παγος) or tribunal of the Hill of Mars.
4. The HELIASTIC TRIBUNAL (Ἡλιαστικον), or Tribunal of the Heliastæ (Ἡλιαστιαι), in two or three divisions, according to the causes.

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5. The EPIPALLADIUM (το επι Παλλαδιω), a tribunal which took cognizance of wilful murder.*
6. The EPIDELPHINIUM (το επι Δελφινιω), which tried causes of involuntary homicide.*
7. The ENPHREATTIUM (το εν Φρεατοι), or the Tribunal of the Well, which took cognizance of murders committed by banished persons.
8. The EPIPRYTANIUM (το επι Πρυτανειω), a tribunal which took cognizance of deaths occasioned by inanimate things.
9. The EPITHALLATTIUM (Επιθαλαττιον) a tribunal which tried persons accused of offences committed on the seas: but its authority ceased the instant the anchor was cast.

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10. The Tribunal of the ARCHON EPONYMUS, or First Archon, composed of that magistrate, two paredri or assessors, and a clerk. It took cognizance of cases relative to guardians and wards, and suits instituted between relations.

* It is thus in the French; but it is probably a mistake; for Potter, whose authority on this subject is certainly very great, says the Epipalladium took cognizance of *involuntary homicide*, and the Epidelphinium of *justifiable homicide*. See Potter's Antiquities of Greece, Book I. chap. 20.—T.

11. That of the KING ARCHON, composed in the same manner as the former: it took cognizance of the crime of impiety, and matters relative to religious worship.
12. The Tribunal of the POLEMARCH, or Third Archon, composed in like manner: it took cognizance of all affairs relative to foreigners and sojourners at Athens.
13. The THESMOTHETÆ; a tribunal of commerce and general police; and, in the first instance, for civil affairs.
14. The ELEVEN, including the clerk or register; a tribunal of correctional and executive police. They sat at the Parabuston, and took cognizance of thefts by day to the value of fifty drachmas, and of all committed in the night. They likewise had charge of the prisons, and caused sentences of death to be executed.

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15. The CATADEMI (Κατα Δημυς), or Forty, elected by lot (τετρακοντα Κληρωτοι), magistrates established in every borough of Attica, who determined causes to the value of ten drachmas.
16. The DIATETÆ (Διαιτηται), or arbitrators. Their number varied, and has sometimes amounted to twelve hundred. By a decree procured by Demosthenes, they were reduced to three hundred.
17. The NAUTODICÆ (Ναυτοδικαι), composing a tribunal by which merchants, foreigners, and seafaring persons, were tried in the first instance. These judges sat on the 30th of every month, at the Piræus.

MAGISTRATES.

The Nine Archons.

The ARCHON EPONYMUS (Επωνυμος, or Αρχων).
The KING ARCHON (Βασιλευς).
The POLEMARCH (Πολεμαρχος).
The Six THESMOTHETÆ (Θεσμοθεται).
[These nine magistrates, assembled at the Odeon, formed the Council of State.]
The EPISTATES (Επιστατης), or president.
The Nine PROEDRI (Προεδροι), or chief of tribes.
The PRYTANES (Πρυτανεις), who, to the number of five hundred, including the Epistates and Proedri, composed the senate, and presided in their turn, or prytania, in the assembly of the people.
The EPHETÆ (Εφεται), fifty-one magistrates, who composed alternately, and as occasion required, the tribunals of the Epipalladium, the Epidelphinium, the Epiphryattium, and the Epiprytaneum.
The NOMOPHYLACES (Νομοφυλακες), or guardians of the laws, who superintended the votes in the General Assembly.
The NOMOTHETÆ (Νομοθεται), magistrates, more or less numerous, chosen from among the Heliastæ, for the emendation of the laws, according to circumstances.
The TWENTY, established after the tyranny of the Thirty, to superintend at elections.

The ORATORS (Ρητορες), appointed by lot, and instituted by Solon, to the number of ten, to defend the interests of the people, either in the Senate or the General Assembly.
The SYNDICS (Συνδικοι), five orators chosen by the people for the defence of the ancient laws, when their abrogation should be proposed, before the tribunal, or commission of the Nomothetæ.

The PERISTIARCHS (Περιστιαρχοι), magistrates who purified the places in which assemblies were held.

The LEXIARCHS (Ληξιαρχοι); six magistrates who, assisted by thirty inferior officers, took account of, and levied, fines on those who absented themselves from the assembly of the people.

The SYNGRAPHS (Συγγραφεις), thirty officers who collected the votes.

The APOGRAPHS (Απογραφεις), officers who distributed the suits.

The GRAMMATISTS (Γραμματισται), or Scribes, two for each tribe.

The EPHYDOR (Εφυδορ), or officer who took care of the Clepsydra.

The CERYCES (Κερυκες), the heralds of the senate and the people.

The ANTIGRAPHS (Αντιγραφεις), or correctors of accounts in the assembly of the people.

The APODECTÆ (Αποδεκται), created by Clisthenes, to the number of ten, who executed nearly the same functions in the senate.

The EPIGRAPHS (Επιγραφεις), who registered the accounts.

The LOGISTÆ (Λογισται), ten magistrates who revised the accounts.

The EUTHYNÆ (Ευθυναι), twelve others, who exercising the same function, had likewise the right of imposing fines.

The MASTERES (Μαστηρες), or Inquisitors.

The ZETETÆ (Ζητηται), or Searchers.

[These two latter magistracies appear to have had the same object—the inquiry after the debtors to the state. It is not known whether the first was annual, but the second and the three following were only temporary.]

The EPISTATÆ, or Surveyors of the Waters, (Επισταται των Υδατων), the number of whom was not determined.

The ODOPOII (Οδοποιοι), or Surveyors of the Ways.

The TEICHOPOII (Τειχοποιοι), who superintended the repair or rebuilding of the walls.

The TAMIAS, or Treasurer-General of the Administration (Ταμιας της Διοικησεως), chosen for five years. This office,

with which Aristides and the orator Lycurgus were invested, and which gave great power, appears to have been only temporary.

The TAMIÆ, or Tamiouchi, (Ταμιαι), that is, Treasurers, were taken from the richest class of the citizens.

The POLETÆ (Πωληται), ten magistrates who superintended the sales of estates, or other things, confiscated.

The DEMARCHI (Δημαρχοι), anciently called Naucrari, the chiefs and administrators of the demi or boroughs of the several tribes.*

The Distributors of the Theoric Money (Θεωρικον), or money given to the people to purchase seats in the theatre.

The SITOPHYLACES (Σιτοφυλακες), fifteen magistrates, of whom five at the Piræus and ten at Athens presided over the sale of grain.

The PRACTORES (Πρακτορες), appointed to receive fines.

The CRENOPHYLAX (Κρηνοφυλαξ), an officer who had the care of the fountains.

The ADMINISTRATORS of the PORT (Επιμληται εμποριω or των νεωριων), ten magistrates appointed to superintend the military armaments, and the police of the Piræus. They had under their orders—

The APOSTOLES (Αποστολεις), or commanders of cruizers.

The NAUPHYLACES (Ναυφυλακες), the keepers of the vessels.†

The METRONOMI (Μετρονομοι), inspectors of weights and measures; five at the Piræus, and five in the city.

The AGORANOMI (Αγορανομοι), inspectors of the markets; five at the Piræus, and five in the city.

The SYNDICS (Συνδικοι), appointed to take account of confiscations at the Piræus.

The ŒNOPTI (Οινοπτοι), whose office it was to repress the luxury of the table.

The GYNÆCOSMI (Γυναικοσμοι), who enforced the sumptuary laws relative to women.

* The French has here *Chefs et administrateurs des tribus*; but the Phylarchos was the chief magistrate of the tribe, and the Demarchos only of the particular demos, or borough, to which he belonged.—T.

† Their employment appears to have been to take soundings, to prevent the ships from bilging on shoals and rocks.—T.

The SOPHRONISTÆ (Σωφρονισται), appointed to take care of the education of the ephebi or youths.

The ORPHANISTÆ (Ορφανισται or Ορφανοφυλακες), protectors of orphans.

The PHRATORES (Φρατορες), who caused the names of children to be inscribed in the registers of their tribe.

The ASTYNOMI (Αστυνομοι), five in the city, and five at the Piræus. They superintended the singers, stage-players, &c.*

The HELLENOTAMIÆ (Ἑλληνοταμιαι), treasurers, or rather collectors of the taxes imposed on the Greek allies of Athens.

The CLEROUCHI (Κληρυχοι), who superintended the division of the lands in the new colonies.

The EPISCOPI (Επισκοποι), inspectors or (Φυλακες) guardians of the subjected or allied cities. They were only temporary, and in this differed from the Harmostæ established by the Lacedæmonians.

The PYLAGORI† (Πυλαγοροι), annual deputies to the Amphictyonic assemblies at Delphi and Thermopylæ.

The STRATEGI (Στρατηγοι), or Generals; in number ten; who had the right, in some circumstances, of convoking the general assembly. They were elected by the people, as were also the following officers:

The TAXIARCHI (Ταξιαρχοι), or chiefs of divisions.

The HIPPARCHI (Ἱππαρχοι), two commanders of the cavalry.

The PHYLARCHI (Φυλαρχοι); they were ten in number, and under the orders of the Hipparchi.

* Potter says the Astynomi were public scavengers.—T.

† More properly Pylegoræ (Πυληγοραι.)—T.

TABLE IV.

GREEK COLONIES.

The Greeks distinguished two kinds of colonies: one which they called *αποικια*, emigration; and another which they termed *κληρυχια*, partition, or distribution, by lot. The latter is not of an earlier date than the Peloponnesian war. Held in a dependence more or less strict, these colonies were, in fact, permanent garrisons in the countries of which the mother city wished to secure the subjection. The others, on the contrary, enjoyed complete liberty, and formed almost as many republics as particular cities. Three principal emigrations are enumerated: the Æolic, the Ionic, and the Doric.

The first of these emigrations commenced sixty years after the siege of Troy, in the twelfth century before the Christian æra. About that time the Æolians, driven from Peloponnesus, took refuge in the western part of the peninsula since called Asia Minor. Four generations having elapsed, and the population of Greece being greatly increased, the Ionians passed over into the same part of Asia and settled there, under the conduct of Neleus, the son of Codrus, the last king of Athens.

The Dorians emigrated at three different epochs. The first was one generation before the destruction of Troy. Theras then led a colony to the island of Calliste, which, from his name, was called Thera, and from which emigrated those colonists who founded Cyrene in Africa. The second epoch is nearly the same with that of the emigration of the Ionians under Neleus. The Dorians settled in a country in the vicinity of the latter, on the southern coast of Asia Minor. The last of these periods is to be placed in the eighth century before Christ. The Hippoboti, the great proprietors of Chalcis, having allotted a great part of Eubœa to pasturage, the inhabitants found themselves under the necessity of seeking some other land to cultivate; and, removing to the north-east part of Greece, properly so called, there occupied the territory denominated, from the name of their original country, Chalcidice. About the same time, the Cypselides compelled, by their tyranny, other Dorians to leave Peloponnesus, and settle to the north-west of that peninsula, in Sicily and in Italy.

There can be no doubt that these different emigrations were not composed entirely of Æolians, Ionians, or Dorians, but that they were a mixture of them all: the minority, however, added to the majority, formed only one single body. Besides, as they adopted the same idiom of their language, they were soon confounded with each other; for all the Greek colonies in Sicily and Græcia Magna in Italy using the Doric dialect, they were all considered as Dorians, though Æolians and Ionians had been incorporated with them at different periods. It is to be observed that we here speak not only of the colonies founded before the time of the supposed arrival of the Younger Anacharsis in Greece, but also of those which were established after their return into Scythia. Thus, Thurium having succeeded to Sybaris, we have only to mention the latter. Smyrna was at first peopled by Æolians: but, as it soon passed into the possession of the Ionians, it was proper to class it among the cities of the latter. It is the same with respect to Cumæ in Italy, which, from a Dorian colony, soon became an Æolian town. The colonies who peopled the greater part of the Cyclades, and some other islands of the Ægæan Sea, did not appertain to these great emigrations; they were of Ionic origin, on which account they are placed at the end of the Ionic emigration. The island of Crete had been inhabited by Dorians, and that of Eubœa by Æolians and Dorians, before the siege of Troy; but as the particular place is not known, no mention is made of either. Ætolia, in like manner, received Æolians, who built there Calydon and Pleuron; but, from a similar reason, these two cities are not noticed. These examples are sufficient to show the attention with which this table has been compiled. It is founded on historical researches and discussions, in which the preference has frequently been given to the opinion of Ephorus, the historian best informed with respect to whatever relates to the origin of the Greek colonies. Of these colonies the earlier gave birth to others, some of which became in their turn mother-cities. There were many of these which eclipsed in splendour and power the cities from which they were descended: such were Cyrene, Byzantium, &c. Miletus, one of these ancient colonies, produced a great number; for not less than eighty cities are enumerated which derived from it their origin. Many of these were situated in Scythia, on the Cimmerian Bosphorus; others at the extremity of the Pontus Euxinus, in Egypt, &c. Phocæa had the honour of laying the foundations of Massilia, now Marseilles, which extended its establishments as far as the Pillars of Hercules.

Though Eusebius represents some of the mother colonies, or secondary metropolises, as mistresses of the sea at certain periods, none of them equalled in that respect the Phœnicians; the reason of which is evident, and merits to be assigned. The latter guided the course of their ships by the constellation Cynosura (the Little Bear), on account of its great

proximity to the pole, and because it is always visible; the Greeks, on the contrary, sailed by observing the Helice (the Great Bear), which has not the same advantages. Perhaps the ancient Marseillese adopted the Phœnician method; at least Pytheas, their countryman, appears to have made use of it in his long voyages.

It was wished to arrange this List in the form of a genealogical tree; but the gaps would have been too frequent and too considerable for such a plan. The geographical order has been followed as far as it was practicable. The mother colonies are distinguished by the letter Δ; those which founded a great number of others by the two letters Δ. π.; and the younger colonies, or the third in chronological order, which have also founded others, have the latter T. prefixed to them in this Table.

ÆOLIC EMIGRATION.

In Asia Minor.

Δ. Ægæ.
Δ. Larissa.
Δ. Temnos.
Δ. π. Cyme.
Δ. Pitane.
Δ. Cilla.
Δ. Notium.
Δ. Ægiroëssa.
Δ. Neontichos.
Δ. Myrina.
Δ. Grynium.
Δ. π. Lesbos { Mitylene. Methymna. Arisba. Antissa. Eressus. Pyrrha. }
Δ. Tenedos isle.
Pordoselene, in one of the Hecatonessi islands.
Lyrnessus.
Adramyttium.
Thebe.
Antandros.
Assus.
Hamaxitus.
Neandrea.
Elæa.
Atarnea.
Andera.
Chrysa.
Pergamum the ancient
Teuthrania.
Cebrene.
Gargara.
Sigeum.
Celænæ.
Syllium.
Carana.
Cisthene.
Astyra.
Perperene.
Magnesia on the Mæander.
Sida in Pamphylia.
Abydos.

In Thrace.

Ænos.
Alopeconnesus.
Sestos.

In Italy.

Spina at the mouth of the Po.
Δ.π. Cumæ, in the country of the Opici.
Parthanope, in the same country.
Pithecusa, an island.

IONIC EMIGRATION.

In Asia Minor.

Δ.π. Miletus.
Δ. Myus.
Δ. Priene.
Δ. Ephesus.
Δ.π. Colophon.
Δ. Lebedos.
Δ.π. Teos.
Δ.π. Clazomenæ island.
Δ. Erythræ.
Δ. Smyrna.
Δ.π. Phocæa.
Δ.π. Samos island.
Δ. Chios island.

Mycale.
Tralles.
Casyste.
Neapolis.
Phygela.
Panormus.
Posideum.
Athymbra.
Hydrela.
Coscinia.
Orthosia.
Biula.
Mastaura.
Acharaca.
Thessaloce.
Pelopia.
Dascylium.
Andicale.
Termetis.
Samorna.
Parthenium.
Hermesia.
Ptelea.
Heraclea in Caria.
Myrlea in Bithynia.
Cius in Mysia.
Polichna on Mount Ida, in Troas.

In Chalcidice.

Sane
Acanthe.
Stagira.

In Thrace.

Amphipolis.
Argilus.
Oesyma.
Gapselus.
Elæus.
Abdera.
Perinthus.

Islands of the Ægean Sea.

Δ.π. Thasos.
Imbros.
Lemnos.
Samothrace.

Cyclades Islands.

Ceos.	Tenos.
Cythnos.	Syros.
Seriphos.	Delos.
Siphnos.	Mycone.
Cimole.	Δ.π. Paros.
Ios.	Naxos.
Δ.π. Andros.	Amorgos.
Gyarus.	

Pharos, an island of Illyria.
Ammon, in Libya.

COLONIES OF MILETUS.

T. Cyzicum, an island of the Propontis.
Artace, in that island.
Proconnesus, an island in the same sea.
Miletopolis, in Mysia.

On the Coast and in the Environs of the Hellespont.

Priapus.	Gergetha.
Coloniæ.	Arisba.
Parium.	Limnæ.
Pæsus.	Percote.
Lampsacus.	

Zeleia, at the foot of Mount Ida.
Scepsis, on that mountain.

Near Miletus.

Iasus.	Heraclea, or Latmos.
Latmos.	

Isles Sporades.

Icaria.	Leros.

On the Coasts of the Pontus Euxinus.

T. Heraclea.	Sesamus.
Chersonesus.	Cromna.
Tium.	Amisus.
T. Sinope.	Cerasus.
Cotyorus.	Trapezus.

In Colchis:

Phasis.	Dioscorias.

In Thrace.

Anthia.	Andriaca.
Anchialus.	Crithote.
T. Apollonia.	Pactyes.
Thynias.	Cardia.
Phinopolis.	Deultum.

In Scythia.

Odessus.	Istropolis.
Cruni, or Dionysiopolis.	Tyras.
Calatis.	T. Olbia, or Borysthenais.
Tomi.	

In the Chersonesus Taurica.

Theodosia.	T. Panticapæum.
Nymphæa.	Myrmecion.

On the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

Phanagoria.	Cephi.
Hermonassa.	

Tanaïs, in Sarmatia.
Salamis, in Cyprus.
Naucratis, in Egypt.
Chemis-Paralia, or the Walls of the Milesians, in Egypt.
Ampe, on the Tigris.
Clauda, on the Euphrates.

COLONIES OF PHOCÆA.

In Gaul.

Monœcia.	Tauroëntum.
Nicæa.	Citharista.
Antipolis.	T. Massillia, or Marseilles.
Lerina island.	Rhodanusia.
Hiera.	Agatho.
Olbia.	

In Iberia.

Rhodes.	Heraclea.
Emporium.	Mænoba.
Hemeroscopium.	

In Italy.

Hyele, or Elea, in Lucania.	Alalia, in Cyrnus or Corsica.
Lugaria, in Græcia Magna.	

DORIC EMIGRATION.

FIRST EPOCH.

Islands of Asia.

Δ. π. Thera.	Anaphe.

In Lybia.

T. Cyrene.	Naustathmus.
Apollonia.	Zephyrium.
Barce.	The Hesperides.
Theuchira.	

SECOND EPOCH.

In Asia Minor.

Halicarnassus.	Pedasus.
Δ. Cnidus.	Myndus.
Δ. Lindus. } In the isle of Rhodes.	Triopium.
Δ. π. Ialysus. } In the isle of Rhodes.	Mylasa.
Δ. Camirus. } In the isle of Rhodes.	Synagela.
Δ. Cos, one of the Sporades islands.	Limyra.
	Termessus, in Pisidia.
	Heraclea.

Aspendus, in Pamphylia.

In Cilicia.

T. Tarsus.		Anchiale.
Lyrnessus.		Soli.
Mallus.		

Sporades Isles.

Patmos.		Nisyrus.
Calymna,		

Caryanda, an island of Caria.
Carpathus, an island in the sea of that name.

THIRD EPOCH.

In Macedonia.

Ænium.		Methone.
Δ. Pydna.		Therma.

In Chalcidice.

Potidæa.		Δ. Chalcis.
Δ.π. Mende.		Spartolus.
Scione.		Olophyxus.
Pallene.		Cleonæ.
Ægæ.		Thyssus.
Aphytis.		Apollonia.
Δ.π. Olynthus.		Dium.
Torone.		Acroathos.
Sermilis.		Echymnia.

In Thrace.

Eion.		Selymbria.
Maronea.		Δ.π. Byzantium.

Mesembria, near Mount Hæmus.
Naulochus, in Scythia.

In Bythynia.

Chalcedon.		Astacum.

Isles of the Ægean Sea.

Scyros.	Sciathus.
Peparethus.	Astypalæa.

Isles of Illyricum.

Δ.π. Issa.	Corcyra Nigra, or the black.
Tragurium.	

In Illyricum.

T. Epidamnus.	Acrolissus.
Apollonia.	Oricum.
Lissus.	

Ambracia, in the country of the Molossi.

In Acarnania.

Anactorium.	Argos Amphilochium.
Molycria.	

Isles in the Ionian Sea.

Δ.π. Corcyra.	Zacynthus.
Cephallenia.	The Echinades.
Ithaca.	Cythera.
Leucadia.	

Melos, one of the Cyclades.

In Sicily.

Δ. Zancle.	Hybla.
Δ. Catana.	Agrigentum.
Δ. Leontium.	Camicus.
Δ.π. Syracuse.	Selinus.
Δ. Gela.	Lilybæum.
Δ.π. Naxos.	Eryx.
Δ. Megara.	Segesta.
Δ. Thapsus.	Panormus.
Δ. Himera.	Soloeis.
	Callipolis.
Acræ.	Eubœa.
Tauromenium.	Tyndaris.
Motya.	Mylæ.
Camarina.	Enna.

Æolian, or Lipari Islands.

T. Lipara.	Strongyle.
Didyem.	Hiera.

In Magna Græcia, or Greece of Italy.

Δ. Tarentum.	Terina.
Δ.π. Sybaris.	Petelia.
Δ. Croton.	Medma.
Δ.π. Locri Epizephyrii.	Hipponium.
Δ. Rhegium.	Pandosia.
	Consentia.
Metapontum.	Mystia.
Heraclea.	Temesa.
Caulonia.	

In Italy.

Hydruntum, in the country of the Iapyges.	Posidonia, or Pæstum, in Lucania.
Laos, in the country of the Brutii.	Ancona, in Picenum.

TABLE V.

Containing the Names of Persons who have distinguished themselves in Literature and the Arts, from the Arrival of the Phœnician Colony in Greece, to the establishment of the School of Alexandria.

The object of the following Table is to exhibit, in a compendious manner, the successive progress of knowledge among the Greeks. In it we shall see that the number of men of literature and artists, which was very limited in the earliest ages, increased prodigiously in the sixth century before Christ, and continued to increase during the fifth, and in the fourth, in which the reign of Alexander ended. We may hence infer that the sixth century before Christ was the æra of the first (and perhaps the greatest) revolution that has taken place in the minds of men.

It will also show what cities have produced the greatest number of men of genius, and the branches of literature that have been cultivated with most success in each age.

This Table may serve as an introduction to the history of the arts and sciences of the Greeks; I am indebted for it to the friendship of the Baron de Sainte-Croix, of the Academy of Belles Lettres. His extensive learning must leave no doubt of the accuracy with which he has conducted his researches; and we may judge of the difficulty of his undertaking from the remarks which he has communicated to me, and which I here subjoin.

"In constructing this table, I have neglected no means of ascertaining with exactness the country and profession of the persons whose names it contains; I have had recourse to the original sources, and considered and compared different testimonies, without implicitly following either Pliny, with respect to artists, or Diogenes Laërtius, with regard to Philosophers.

"I have determined the age in which these men lived by express authorities: or, when I have wanted these, by the analogy of facts, or calculating the generations: and rarely have my conjectures been unsupported by proofs.

"The five first ages are very barren, and present great uncertainty I have excluded from them all imaginary and fabulous personages.

"I have given the name of each great man in the age in which he flourished. Thus Socrates is placed in the fifth century before Christ, though he was put to death in the beginning of the fourth: which may also show that I have not meant to place a great distance between two persons, though I have given their names in different ages.

"I have frequently placed a whole generation between the master and the disciple. Sometimes also I have given the name of the latter immediately after that of the former, as in the case of Chersiphron, and Metagenes his son, because they jointly superintended the building of the famous temple of Ephesus, &c. &c.

"To exhibit the reigning taste in each age, and the progress of every science and art, I have sometimes mentioned persons who were not of equal celebrity; but the union of all these names was necessary. Thus by casting our eyes over the fourth century, we may judge of the kind of passion which the Greeks had conceived for philosophy, when we observe so great a number of the disciples of Socrates or Plato in immediate succession.

"When a science or art has appeared to me neglected in any age, I have sought out even the most inconsiderable person by whom it has been cultivated.

"When a man of genius is mentioned who had opened to himself a new tract in any art or science, I have specified it by a distinct name, as painting in one colour, the middle comedy, &c. which had for their inventors Cleophantus, Sotades, &c.: but afterwards I have not repeated the specific distinction. I have termed Herophilus, Physician-anatomist, because he first seriously applied himself to anatomy; and I have styled Philinus an Empirical Physician, and Erasistratus a Dogmatical Physician, because the former gave occasion to the empirical and the latter to the dogmatical sect, &c.

"I have always given the art or science in which each great man was most eminent. All the philosophers, and especially those of the school of Pythagoras, embraced the whole circle of the learning of their time. I have, however, noticed such as have obtained reputation in any particular science or art. If they have excelled in several, I have named that which they have more especially cultivated. With respect to such men as Thales, Pythagoras, &c. such a distinction appeared to me useless: only to name them was sufficient.

"P. S.—In order to ascend to the true source of the knowledge of the Greeks, and to follow with more precision the progress they made in science, we have set out in the new edition of this Table from the arrival of Cadmus, the conductor of the Phœnician colony into Greece, and we have added two centuries to the twelve of the former edition. In like manner, we have judged it adviseable not to conclude it precisely at

the time of Alexander, but to continue it for several years into the following century (the third before Christ), in order to connect the last link of the chain of illustrious men with the establishment of the school of Alexandria, one of the most memorable epochs in the history of the human mind. We have not, however, proceeded far beyond that æra, since Theocritus, the last in our Table, was born about the end of the reign of Alexander. Nothing has, at the same time, been omitted to render this list complete and correct; and it has been rendered more interesting, by pointing out, by a particular mark—1st, those celebrated men who have rendered themselves illustrious by their discoveries; 2d, those of whom we possess the entire works; 3d, those of whose writings time has only preserved some fragments of a certain extent; 4th, those of whose works only a few passages remain, but such as are capable of conveying to us some idea of their merit. The first of these are denoted by the letter K; the second by II; the third by M; and the fourth by O. Lastly, by an A are indicated the writers who having had new ideas, have likewise left us considerable works. It is also to be observed, that no mark is affixed to those authors to whom certain works have been falsely attributed; of which number, among others, are Phocylides, Cebes, Demetrius of Phalerum, &c.

"A mark will be sometimes found affixed to the names of authors who are not commonly supposed to have left any writings; but we are persuaded of the contrary, as, in particular, with respect to Lysis, who appears to us to have been the author of the Golden Verses falsely attributed to Pythagoras; as also with respect to Speusippus, who was that of the Definitions printed at the end of the works of Plato.

"It is necessary to explain some terms which it was requisite to make use of in this Table. By *Cyclic*, are to be understood those ancient writers who put in verse the history of the heroic ages; by *Teletics*, those whose poems had for their subjects the initiations and mysterious divinities; by *Steledics*, certain Pythagoreans driven from their school, and whose names were, in consequence, inscribed on a pillar. Instead of the term *sculptor* that of *statuary* has been made use of, because the latter comprehends founders, and other artists employed in making statues It was not, however, possible to give the names of all the statuaries mentioned by Pausanias, without their occupying too considerable a space it was sufficient to give such a number of the most celebrated as mighshew the progress of the art in different ages.

"It may not be improper here to add that this Table is the mo copious of the kind which has yet been published. It contains near eight hundred and eighty names, while that of Blair, the latest of a others, contains only a hundred and twenty in the same space of tim e It is here worthy of observation, that nearly one third of these eight hu dred and eighty names have their place in the fourth century bef re

Christ, which is that in which the human mind made the greatest progress, and in which is found an astonishing assemblage of men of genius, celebrated artists, and illustrious writers in every department of literature and science.

"Yet would this catalogue have been much more extensive, had it been possible to insert the names of many persons of whom the precise time, or even the century in which they lived, is absolutely unknown. The ancients were frequently extremely negligent in this particular. Without dwelling on the proofs of this assertion which Pliny, especially, furnishes, a long list might be adduced of fragments of the Pythagoreans, Theagis, Metopus, Diotogenes, &c. which Stobæus has preserved. These philosophers must have lived, at the earliest, about the end of the fifth century before Christ, and, at the latest, in the fourth, before the 4th year of the 103d Olympiad (365 years before Christ), the time when their school terminated. But there is not the least indication remaining from which it is possible to determine with exactness, or even with any probable presumption, the age in which they should be placed."

FIFTEENTH, FOURTEENTH, THIRTEENTH. TWELFTH, AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

BEFORE CHRIST.

K. CADMUS of Phœnicia, author of the Hellenic Alphabet.
K. Amphion of Thebes, Poet and Musician, Inventor of the Lyre.
Hyagnis of Phrygia, Inventor of the Flute.
K. Erichthonius of Athens, Institutor of the festivals of Minerva.
Celmis, of Mount Ida in Crete, } Metallurgists.
Damnaneus of the same country, } Metallurgists.
Acmon, of the same country, } Metallurgists.
Eumicleus of Cyprus, Cyclic Poet.
K. Orpheus of Thrace, Teletic Poet, Musician, Author of a Theogony.
Thymœtus of Phrygia, Poet and Musician.
Musæus I, of Thrace, } Teletic Poets.
Eumolpus, of the same country, } Teletic Poets.
K. Triptolemus, of Eleusis, first Legislator of Attica.
Melampus, of Argos, Teletic Poet.
Jason, of Thessaly, } Navigators.
Tiphys, of Bœotia, } Navigators.
Chiron, of Thessaly, Astronomer, Physician, and Musician.
Palamedes, Poet and Musician, Regulator of the Alphabet.
Corinnus, his disciple, Poet and Musician.
Philammon, of Thrace, Teletic Poet.
Pamphus of Athens, Poet, Writer of Hymns.
Linus of Thebes, Teletic Poet, Writer of Hymns.
Thamyris of Thrace, Teletic Poet, Musician, and Inventor of the Dorian mode.
Agamedes of Thebes, } Architects.
Trophonius, his brother, } Architects.
Tiresias of Bœotia, Poet and Diviner.
Daphne, his daughter, Poetess, and Divineress.
Lycaon of Arcadia, Institutor of gymnic games.
Olen of Lycia, Poet, Writer of Hymns.
Dædalus of Athens, Architect, Mechanic, and Navigator.
Eudocus, his pupil.
Minos, } Legislators of Crete.
Rhadamanthus, } Legislators of Crete.
Acastus of Thessaly, Institutor of funeral games.
Marsyas of Phrygia, Musician, Inventor of the Phrygian mode.
Olympus, his pupil, Poet and Musician.
Hercules of Thebes, Institutor of athletic games.
Theseus of Athens, Legislator of his country.

K. Æsculapius of Epidaurus, Physician.
Sisyphus of Cos, Poet.
Dares of Phrygia, } Cyclic Poets.
Dictys of Cnossus, }
Automenes of Mycenæ, Poet.
Damodocus of Corcyra, his disciple.
Phemonoe, Divineress and Inventress of the hexameter verse.
Herophila of Phrygia, called *the Sybil*, Poetess and Divineress.
Podalirius, } Physicians.
Machaon, }
Phemius of Ithaca, Musician.
Oxylus of Elis, Legislator of the Dorians of Peloponnesus.
Daphnis of Sicily, first Bucolic Poet.
Nicomachus, son of Machaon, } Physicians.
Gorgasus, his brother, }
Orœbantius of Trœzen, Cyclic Poet.

TENTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

K. Ardalus of Trœzen, Poet and Musician.
Thales of Gortyna, in Crete, Legislator, Lyric Poet, and Musician.
Xenodamus of Cythera, poet and Musician.
Onomacritus of Crete Legislator.
Musæus II. Writer of Hymns.
Melesander of Miletus, Cyclic Poet.
K. Damastus of Erythræa, Inventor of the bireme.
Aristeas of Proconnesus, Cyclic Poet.
Pytheas of Trœzen, Diviner and Poet.
Syagrus, Cyclic Poet.
Pronapides of Athens, Poet and Grammarian.
Creophylus of Samos, Cyclic Poet.

NINTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

A. Homer of Chios, Epic Poet.
Phidon of Argos, Legislator, and Inventor of weights and measures.
Eumelus of Corinth, Cyclic Poet, Author of the *Titanomachia*.
Aminocles of Corinth, Inventor of the trireme.
II. Hesiod of Cumæ, Æolia, Didactic and Epic Poet.
Arctinus of Miletus, Cyclic Poet, Author of a poem on the taking of Troy, and of the *Æthiopeis*.
Stasinus of Cyprus, Cyclic Poet.
Lycurgus of Sparta, Legislator of his country.

K. Cleophantus of Corinth, Painter in one colour.
Charmadas, } Painters.
Dinias, }
Hygiemon, }
K. Eumarus of Athens, }
Dicæogenes, Cyclic Poet, Author of the *Cypriacs*.
Polymnestes of Colophon, Poet and Musician.
Augias of Trœzen, Cyclic Poet, Author of the poem entitled *the Returns*.
Prodicus of Phocæa, Cyclic Poet, Author of the *Minyas*.
K. Gitiadas of Laconia, Architect, Statuary, and Poet.
Mnesion of Phocæa, Legislator of his country.

EIGHTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

Iphitus of Elis, Legislator of his country, Restorer of the Olympic games.
O. Callinus of Ephesus, Elegiac Poet.
K. Cimon of Cleonæ, Painter
Cresphontes, Legislator of the Messenians.
K. Bularchus of Lydia, Painter in different colours.
K. Zaleucus of Locris, Legislator of the Locians in Italy.
Cinœthon of Sparta, Cyclic Poet.
Philolaus of Corinth, Legislator of Thebes.
M. Archilochus of Paros, Lyric and Satiric Poet.
Aristocles of Cydonia, in Elis, Painter.
Antimachus of Teos, Lyric Poet.
Xenocritus of Locris, Poet and Musician.
Charondas of Catana, Legislator of the Chalcidians in Sicily.
Pisander of Camirus, Cyclic Poet, Author of the *Heracleis*.
Periclitus of Lesbos, Musician.
Eupalinus of Megara, Architect.
K. Chrysothemis of Crete, Poet and Musician.

SEVENTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

M. Tyrtæus of Athens, } Poets and Musicians.
O. Alcman of Sardes, }
O. Lesches of Mytilene, Cyclic Poet, Author of the *Little Iliad*.
Nymphæus of Cydonia, } Poets and Musicians.
K. Terpander of Lesbos, }
Cleonas of Tegea, }
K. Dibutades of Corinth, Sculptor in Plastice.

Cepion, Musician.
Stesichorus the Elder, of Himera, Poet and Musician.
Helianax, his brother, Legislator.
Rhæcus of Samos, Founder and Architect.
Arion of Methymna, Poet and Musician.
Theodorus of Samos, Founder, Architect, and Engraver.
Draco of Athens, Legislator.
Alcæus of Mytilene, Military and Satiric Poet.
Sappho of Mytilene, } Erotic Poetesses.
Erinna of Lesbos, } Erotic Poetesses.
Damophilo, } Erotic Poetesses.
Gorgus of Corinth, Legislator of Ambracia.
Ibycus of Rhegium, Lyric Poet.
Epimenides of Crete, Philosopher, Diviner, Cyclic Poet and Musician.
Phocylides of Miletus, Gnomologic Poet.
Euchyr of Corinth, Statuary.

SIXTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

Cadmus of Miletus, Historian, and first Writer in Prose.
Acusilaus of Argos, Historian.
Thales of Miletus, Philosopher, Head of the Ionic Sect.
Glaucus of Chios, Worker in Iron.
Periander of Corinth, one of the seven sages, Legislator.
Bias of Priene, one of the seven sages, Poet and Legislator.
Chilo of Sparta, one of the seven sages.
Cleobulus of Lindus, one of the seven sages, Legislator.
Pittacus of Mytilene, one of the seven sages, Legislator.
Myson of Laconia, one of the seven sages.
Lysinus of Sicily, Lyric Poet.
Solon of Athens, one of the seven sages, Legislator and Elegiac Poet.
Dropides, his brother, Poet.
Melas of Chios, Statuary.
Chersias of Orchomenus, Poet.
Pisistratus of Athens, } Editors of Homer.
Hipparchus, his son, } Editors of Homer.
Æsop of Cotis, in Phrygia, Fabulist.
Archetimus of Syracuse, Philosopher and Historian.
Mimnermus of Colophon, Elegiac Poet.
Androdamas of Rhegium, Legislator of the Chalcidians, in Thrace.
Sacadas of Argos, Elegiac Poet and Musician.
Micciades of Chios, Statuary.
Polyzelus of Messene, Historian.
Antistates, Architect.
Onomacritus of Athens, Poet, Writer of Hymns.
Callæschros, } Architects.
Antimachides, } Architects.
Porinus, } Architects.

Dædalus, of Sicyon,
K. Dipœnus of Crete, his pupil, } Statuaries.
Scyllis of Crete, his other pupil,
Dontas of Sparta,
Lucymnius of Chios, Lyric Poet.
Clisthenes of Athens, Legislator of his country.
Perillus of Agrigentum, Founder.
Archemus of Chios, Statuary.
K. Lasus of Hermione, Dithyrambic Poet, first Writer on Music.
K. Susarion of Icaria, in Attica, } Buffoons.
Dolon, his countryman,
M. Simonides of Ceos, Poet and Grammarian.
H. Theognis of Megara, Gnomologic Poet.
Hipponax of Ephesus, Satiric Poet.
Spintharus of Corinth, Architect.
K. Anaximander of Miletus, Philosopher and Legislator.
K. Xenophanes of Colophon, Philosopher and Legislator.
Antiochus of Syracuse, his son, Historian.
Phocus of Samos, Astronomer.
K. Anaximenes of Miletus, Philosopher and Astronomer.
Matricetas of Methymna, Astronomer.
K. Thespis of Athens, Tragic Poet.
K. Cleostratus of Tenedos, Astronomer, Author of the Octoeteric Cycle.
Bupalos of Chios, } Statuaries.
Athenis, his countryman,
Clearchus of Rhegium,
Theocles,
Doryclidas,
Medon of Sparta,
Tectæus,
Angelion,
Menæchmus of Naupactus,
Soidas, his countryman,
Callon of Ægina,
Dameas of Croton,
Melanippides of Melos, Dithyrambic Poet.
Damocedes of Croyton, Physician.
Eugamon of Cyrene, Cyclic Poet, Anthor of the *Telegonia*.
Memnon, Architect.
Phrynichus of Athens, Tragic Poet.
O. Bacchylides of Ceos, Lyric and Dithyrambic Poet.
H. Anacreon of Teos, Lyric and Erotic Poet.
Chœrilus of Athens, Tragic Poet.
K. Pherecydes of Syros, Philosopher and Astronomer.
Damaphon of Messenia, } Statuaries.
Pythadorus of Thebes,
Laphaes of Messenia,
Mnesiphilus of Phrear, in Attica, Orator.
K. Pythagoras of Samos, Philosopher and Legislator.
O. Theano of Crete, his wife, Lyric Poetess, and Female Philosopher.
O. Heraclitus of Ephesus, Philosopher.
K. Parmenides of Elea, in Italy, Philosopher.
Aristæus of Croton, Philosopher and Mathematician.
Arignota of Samos, Female Pythagorean Philosopher.

Damo, daughter of Pythagoras, Female Philosopher.
Cnœthus of Chios, Rhapsodist, and Editor of Homer at Syracuse.
Telauges, son and successor of Pythagoras.
Arimnestes, son of Pythagoras, } Philosophers.
Mnesarchus, his other son, }
Cleobulina of Lindus, Poetess.
D. Hellanicus of Lesbos, }
Damastus of Sigeum, } Historians.
Xenomedes of Chios, }
Xanthus of Lydia. }
K. Xeniades of Corinth, Pneumatic Philosopher.
K. Hippodicus of Chalcis, Poet and Musician, Institutor of competitions in music.
K. Melissus of Samos, Philosopher.
Bothrys of Messana, Poet.
K. Pigres of Halicarnassus, Author of the *Batrachomyomachia*.

FIFTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

A. Æschylus of Athens, Tragic Poet.
Agatharcus, Scenic Architect.
Pratinas of Philus, Tragic Poet.
Myrtis of Anthedon, Lyric Poetess.
H. Ocellus of Lucania, Pythagorean Philosopher.
K. Alcmæon of Croton, Philosopher and Physician.
O. Brontinus of Metapontum, Pythagorean Philosopher.
O. Hecatæus of Miletus, } Historians.
Theagenes of Rhegium, }
Scyllias of Scione, Diver.
O. Corinna of Tanagra, Lyric Poetess.
Onatas of Ægina, }
Calliteles, his pupil, }
Glaucias of Ægina, } Statuaries.
Hegesias of Athens, }
Ageladas of Argos, }
Euphorion of Athens, son of Æschylus, } Tragic Poets.
Philocles of the same city, his other son, }
Timagoras of Chalcis, Victor at the first competition in Painting at Delphi.
Panænus of Athens, his rival, Painter.
O. Panyasis of Halicarnassus, Epic and Gnomologic Poet.
Pindar of Thebes, Lyric Poet.
Callias of Athens, Comic Poet.
Xenodemus, Pantomimic Dancer.
Eugeon of Samos, }
Deiochus of Proconnesus, }
Eudemus of Paros, } Historians.
Democles of Phigalea, }
Melesagoras of Chalcedon, }

Chionides of Athens, Comic Poet.
K. Harpalus, Astronomer, Author of the Heccædecaeteric Cycle.
Callistratus of Samos, Regulator of the Ionic Alphabet.
O. Ariphon of Sicyon, Lyric Poet.
K. Œnipodes of Chios, Philosopher, Mathematician, Astronomer, and Inventor of the Zodiac.
Phæax of Agrigentum, Architect.
Dionysius of Miletus, } Historians.
O. Pherecydes of Leros, }
K. Hicetas of Syracuse, Astronomer, first author of the present system of the world.
Stomius, }
Somis, } Statuaries.
Anaxagoras of Ægina, }
Simon, his countryman, }
Archias of Corinth, Architect.
Sophron of Syracuse, Comic Poet and Writer of Mimi.
K. Leucippus of Abdera, Philosopher, Astronomer, and Naturalist.
Diogenes of Apollonia, Philosopher, Orator, and Naturalist.
II. Scylax of Caryanda, Navigator and Geographer.
Hippasus of Metapontum, Pythagorean Philosopher.
Mandrocles of Samos, Architect.
K. Zeno of Elea, Philosopher, Head of the Eleatic Sect.
K. Democritus of Abdera, } Philosophers.
Metrodorus of Chios, his disciple, }
Lamprus of Erythræa, Poet and Musician.
Xanthus, Lyric Poet.
Bion of Abdera, Mathematician.
Dionysius of Rhegium, } Statuaries.
Glaucus of Messene, }
A. Sophocles of Athens, Tragic Poet.
K. Corax of Syracuse, Rhetorician, Author of the first Treatises on Dialectics and Rhetoric.
Tisias of Sicily, his disciple.
Stesimbrotus of Thasos, Historian.
Protagoras of Abdera, Eleatic Philosopher.
O. Xenarchus of Syracuse, Comic Poet.
Hippias of Elea, Philosopher and Poet.
O. Charon of Lampsacus, Historian.
Iophon of Athens, son of Sophocles, Tragic Poet.
Aristomedes of Thebes, } Statuaries.
Socrates, his countryman, }
K. Hippodamus of Miletus, Architect.
M. Empedocles of Agrigentum, Philosopher and Poet.
O. Callicratides, his brother, Pythagorean Philosopher.
Pausanias of Gela, Physician.
Telesilla of Argos, Poetess.
Acron of Agrigentum, Empiric Physician.
O. Praxilla of Sicyon, Dithyrambic Poetess.
Euriphron of Cnidus, Physician.
II. Herodotus of Halicarnassus, Historian.
Timon, called the *Misanthrope*, of Athens, Philosopher.
Eladas of Argos, Statuary.
Aristarchus of Tegea, Tragic Poet.

Prodicus of Ceos,
I. Georgias of Leontium,
Polus of Agrigentum,
I. Alcidamas of Elaia, or Elea, in Æolia,
Theodorus of Byzantium,
} Rhetoricians or Sophists.

A. Hippocrates of Cos,
Thessalus, his son,
Polybius, his son-in-law,
Dexippus of Cos, his disciple,
Apollonius, his other disciple,
} Clinic, or Observing Physicians.

Plesirrhous of Thessaly, Poet, Writer of Hymns, and Editor of Herodotus.

A. Euripides of Athens,
D. Agathon of Athens,
} Tragic Poets.

Magnes,
D. Crates of Athens,
D. Eupolis, his countryman,
} Comic Poets.

D. Cratinus of Athens,
Aristomenes,
} Comic Poets.

D. Stesichorus the younger, of Himera, Elegiac Poet.
Ameristes his brother, Mathematician.
Phrynis of Mytilene, Musician.

Pericles of Athens,
Cephalus of Athens,
Ephialtus of Athens,
} Orators.

Aspasia of Miletus, Poetess and Sophist.
K. Phidias of Athens, Statuary.
Myus, Engraver.

Corœbus,
Menesicles,
Xenocles of Athens,
Metagenes of Xypeta,
Callicrates,
Ictinus,
Carpion,
} Architects.

Hermotimus of Clazomenæ, Unitarian Philosopher.
Philocles of Athens, called *the Bile*, Comic Poet.
Artemon of Clazomenæ, Mechanic
Myrmecides, Sculptor in Ivory.
K. Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ, Philosopher.

Alcamenes of Athens,
Agoracritus of Paros,
} Statuaries of the school of Phidias.

Critias, called *Nesiotes*, or the Islander, Statuary.
Cydias of Athens, Orator.
Damon of Athens, Musician.
Acragas, Engraver.
Archelaus of Miletus, Philosopher.
Hermocrates of Syracuse, Orator.
D. Ion of Chios, Tragic Poet and Historian.

Cratylus, disciple of Heraclitus,
Hermogenes, disciple of Parmenides,
} Philosophers.

K. Socrates of Alopece in Attica, Philosopher.
Battalus of Ephesus, Erotic Poet and Musician.

II. Antiphon of Athens,
Thrasymachus of Chalcedon, } Rhetoricians.
Polycrates of Athens,
A. Aristophanes of Athens, poet of the Ancient Comedy.
Lesbonax of Athens, Orator.
Phrynichus,
Stratis,
O. Philonides of Athens,
O. Pherecrates, his countryman, } Comic Poets.
O. Plato of Athens,
Teleclides of Athens,
O. Theopompus, his countryman,
Niceratus of Athens, Epic Poet.
II. Andocides of Athens, Orator.
II. Thucydides of Alimus, in Attica, Historian.
Ararus of Athens, son of Aristophanes,
Philetærus, his other son,
Nicophron,
Nicochares,
Theophilus, } Comic Poets.
Archippus,
Sanarion,
Myrtillus of Athens,
Hermippus, his brother,
II. Lysias of Athens, Orator.
Phænus of Athens,
Meton of Athens,
Meton of Athens, disciple of the latter, } Astronomers.
Author of the *Enneacaidecacteris*,
Euctemon of Athens,
Theodorus of Cyrene, } Mathematicians.
K. Hippocrates of Chios,
O. Antimachus of Colophon, Epic Poet.
O. Theophilus of Epidaurus, Physician and Comic Poet.
Hegemon of Thasos, Tragic Poet and Parodist.
Chœrilus of Samos, Poet and Historian.
K. Polycletus of Argos, Statuary and Architect.
Phradmon of Argos,
Gorgias,
Callon of Elis,
K. Myron of Eleutheræ, } Statuaries.
Perellius,
Pythagoras of Rhegium,
O. Timocreon of Rhodes, Comic and Satiric Poet.
Theophrastus of Pieria, Musician.
Nicodorus of Mantinea, Legislator of his country.
Diagorus of Melos, Eleatic Philosopher.
O. Evenus of Paros, Elegiac and Gnomologic Poet.
Simonides of Melos, Poet and Grammarian.
Diocles of Syracuse, Legislator of his country.
K. Epicharmus of Cos, Comic Poet, Pythagorean Philosopher, and Regulator of the Alphabet.
Cratippus, Historian.
Polygnotus of Thasos, Painter.

Hiero I. of Syracuse, Writer on Husbandry.
Hermon, Navigator.
Clitodemus, Historian.
Alexis of Sicyon,
Asopodorus of Argos,
Aristides,
Phrynon,
Dinon,
Athenodorus of Clitor,
Damias of Clitor,
} Statuaries of the school of Polycletus.
Micon of Athens,
Domophilus of Himera,
Neseus of Thasos,
Gorgasus of Sicily,
Timarete, daughter of Micon,
} Painters.
Lycius, son of Myron,
Antiphanes of Argos,
} Statuaries.
Aglaophon of Thasos,
Cephisodorus,
Phryllus,
Evenor of Ephesus,
Pauson, his countryman,
Dionysius of Colophon,
} Statuaries.
Cantharus of Sicyon,
Cleon, his countryman,
} Statuaries.
Nicanor, of Paros,
Arcesilaus, his countryman,
Lycippus of Ægina,
Bryetes of Sicyon,
} Encaustic Painters.
O. Critias of Athens, Poet and Orator
Cleophon of Athens, Orator.
Chœriphon of Sphettus, in Attica, Tragic Poet.
Theramenes of Ceos, called the *Buskin*, Orator.
Carcinus of Athens, Tragic Poet.
Theætetus, Astronomer and Mathematician.
Telestas of Selinas, Dithyrambic Poet.
Polycletus of Larissa, Historian.
Archinus of Athens, Orator, Grammarian, and Regulator of the Attic Alphabet.
Theodamus of Athens, Orator.
Mnesigiton of Salamis, Inventor of the quinquereme.
Mithæcus of Syracuse, Sophist, Poet, and Author of a Treatise on Aliments.

FOURTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

K. Philolaus of Croton, Pythagorean Philosopher and Astronomer.

Eurytus of Metapontum, his disciple, } Philosophers.
Clinias of Tarentum, }
Histiæus of Colophon, Musician.
Melitus of Athens, Poet and Philosopher.
Naucydes of Argos, }
Dinomenes, }
Patroclus of Croton, } Statuaries.
Telephanes of Phocæa, }
Canachus of Sicyon, }
Aristocles, his brother, }
K. Apollodorus of Athens, Painter.
K. Chersiphron of Cnossus, } Architects
Metagenes, his son, }
II. Timæus of Locris, Pythagorean Philosopher.
Simon of Athens, Author of the first Treatise on Horsemanship.
Alcibiades of Athens, disciple of Socrates, Orator.
K. Zeuxis of Heraclea, }
K. Parrhasius of Ephesus, }
K. Timanthes of Cythnos, } Painters.
Androcides of Cyzicus, }
Euxenidas of Sicyon, }
Eupompus, his countryman, }
Diogenes of Athens, Tragic Poet.
Nicostrates, son of Aristophanes, Actor and Comic Poet.
Callipides, called the *Ape*, Comic Actor.
K. Sotades of Athens, Poet of the Middle Comedy.
Orthagoras of Thebes, Musician.
Nichocharis, Parodist Poet, author of *the Deliad*.
II. Æschines of Athens, Philosopher of the school of Socrates.
Antisthenes of Athens, disciple of Socrates, and Head of the Cynic sect.
Cebes of Athens, }
Crito of Athens, }
Phædon of Elis, } Philosophers of the school of Socrates.
Simon of Athens, }
Simmias of Thebes, }
Aristophon, Painter.
Timotheus of Miletus, Dithyrambic Poet and Musician.
Ion of Ephesus, Rhapsodist.
Euclid of Megara, Philosopher of the school of Socrates, Head of the Eristics.
Ecphantus of Syracuse, } Pythagorean Philosophers.
Hippo of Rhegium, }
Leodamas of Thasos, Mathematician.
M. Archytas of Tarentum, Philosopher, Mechanic, and Musician.
Neoclitus, Mathematician.
Echecrates of Locris, Pythagorean Philosopher.
Diogenes of Sicyon, Historian.
Philoxenus of Cythera, Lyric, Dithyrambic, and Tragic Poet.
O. Philistus of Syracuse, Orator and Historian.
Polycides, Zoographer and Musician.
Xenagoras of Syracuse, Ship-builder.
Antigenidas of Thebes, Musician.
O. Anaxandrides of Camirus, Tragic and Comic Poet.

O. Ephippus of Athens,
O. Eubulus of Athens,
O. Amphis, his countryman, } Comic Poets.
O. Epicrates of Ambracia,
O. Anaxilas of Athens,

K. Scopas of Paros,
Bryaxis,
Timotheus, } Statuaries.
Leochares,

Aristippus of Cyrene, Philosopher, disciple of Socrates, and Head of the Cyrenaic School.
Arete, his daughter, Female Philosopher.
Themistogenes of Syracuse, Historian.
Plisthanus of Elis, Philosopher, disciple of Phædon.

M. Ctesias of Cnidus, Physician and Historian.
Phyteus, } Architects.
Satyrus,
Tinichus of Chalcis, Poet, Writer of Hymns.
Anaximander of Miletus, Historian.
Pausias of Sicyon, Painter.
Archippus of Tarentum,
O. Hipparchus, Steledic,
O. Euriphanes of Metapontum, } Pythagorean Philosophers.
O. Hippodamus of Thurium,
Pamphilus of Macedonia, Painter.
Lycomedes of Mantinea, Legislator of the Arcadians.
Aristippus, called *Matrodidactos*, son of Arete, Philosopher.
Theodorus of Cyrene, called the *Atheist*.

M. Dionysius of Thebes, Poet and Musician.
O. Onatas of Croton,
Perilaus of Thurium, } Steledic Pythagoreans.
Cylon of Croton,

II. Lysis of Tarentum, Philosopher and Didactic Poet.
Proxenus of Bœotia, Rhetorician.
Euphranor of Corinth, Painter and Statuary.
Cydias of Cythnos,
Nicomachus, } Painters.
Calades,
Philistion of Locris, Physician.
Leon, Mathematician.
Echion,
Therimanchus, } Painters and Statuaries.
Anniceris of Cyrene, Philosopher of the school of Aristippus.

A. Plato of Colytto, in Attica, Head of the Old Academy.
Glaucon of Athens, his brother, disciple of Socrates.
Theognis of Athens, called *the Snow*, Tragic Poet.
Calippus of Syracuse, Rhetorician.

II. Xenophon of Athens, Philosopher and Historian.

K. Eudoxus of Cnidus, Philosopher, Astronomer, and Mathematician.
Dion of Syracuse, Philosopher, disciple of Plato.

II. Isocrates of Athens, Rhetorician and Philosopher.
Amyclas of Heraclea, Mathematician.

Menœchmus,
Dinostratus, his brother,
Theudius of Magnesia,
Athenæus of Cyzicus,
Hermotimus of Colophon, } Mathematicians.
Philip of Medma, Astronomer and Geometrician.
Hegesias, called *Pisithanatos*,
Antipater of Cyrene,
Euhemerus of Messena, Historian. } Cyrenaic Philosophers.
Aristolaus,
Mechopanes,
Antidotus,
Callicles, } Painters, pupils of Pausias.
Helicon of Cyzicus, Astronomer.
Polycles of Athens,
Cephisidotus, his countryman,
Hypatodorus,
Aristogiton, } Statuaries of the school of Athens.
Eubulides of Miletus, Philosopher and Historian.
Hermias of Methymna,
Athanis of Syracuse, } Historians.
Timoleon of Corinth, Legislator of Syracuse.
Cephalus of Corinth, Compiler of Laws.
Theodectes of Phaselis, Rhetorician and Tragic Poet,
M. Theopompus of Chios, Historian,
Naucrates, Rhetorician,
M. Ephorus of Cumæ, Historian,
Cephisodorus, Rhetorician,
Asclepias, of Trogilus, in Sicily,
Astydamas of Athens, } Tragic Poets.
Lacritus of Athens, Orator,
Apharæus of Athens, Orator and Poet,
Cocus of Athens,
Philiscus of Miletus, } Rhetoricians.
Leodamas of Acarnania, Orator.
} All of the school of Isocrates.
Androton, Orator, and Writer on Husbandry, of the school of Socrates.
Zoilus of Amphipolis, Rhetorician, Critic, and Grammarian.
Polyidus of Thessaly, Mechanic.
Euphantus of Olynthus, Philosopher and Historian.
Dionysiodorus of Bœotia,
Anaxis, his countryman, } Historians.
Phaleas of Chalcedon, Politician.
Iphicrates of Athens, Orator.
Mnasitheus of Opus, Rhapsodist.
Chares of Paros,
Apollodorus of Lemnos, } Writers on Husbandry.
K. Praxiteles of Athens, Statuary.
II. Lycurgus of Athens,
II. Isæus of Chalcis, } Orators.
II. Speusippus of Athens,
Philip of Opus, Astronomer,
Amicleus of Heraclea,
Hestiæus of Perinthus, } Philosophers of the school of Plato.

Erastus of Scepsis,
Mnesistratus of Thasos,
Coriscus, his countryman,
Timolaus of Cyzicus,
Euagon Lampsacus,
Pithon of Ænium,
Heraclides, his countryman,
Hippotalus of Athens,
Calippus of Athens,
} Philosophers of the school of Plato.
Lasthenia of Mantinea, Female Philosopher.
Axiothea of Phlius, Female Philosopher.
Neoptolemus, Tragic Actor.
II. Æneas of Stymphalia, Tactician.
II. Palæphatus of Athens, Mythologist.
Sannion of Athens, Musician, Regulator of the Choruses in Tragedy.
Parmenon, Actor.
Philemon, Actor.
Hermodorus of Athens, disciple of Plato, and Editor of his Works.
Callistratus of Athens, Orator.
Menecrates of Syracuse, Empiric Physician.
Critobulus, Physician and Surgeon.
Aristophon of Azenia, in Attica, Orator.
Herodorus of Heraclea, Zoologist.
Brison, his son, Sophist.
Asclepiodorus,
Theomnestus,
Melanthius,
} Last Painters of the school of Sicyon.
Telephanes of Megara, Musician.
Syennesis of Cyprus, Physiological Physician.
A. Demosthenes of Pæania, in Attica,
II. Hyperides of Colytus, in Attica,
II. Æschines of Athens,
Eubulus of Anaphlystus,
II. Demades of Athens,
II. Dinarchus of Corinth,
Leptines of Athens,
} Orators.
II. Autolycus of Pitane, Astronomer and Naturalist.
Praxagoras of Cos, Physician.
Clinomachus of Thurium, Rhetorician.
Archebulus of Thebes, Lyric Poet.
II. Crito of Ægea, Pythagorean Philosopher.
Sosicles of Syracuse, Tragic Poet.
Theodorus, Comic Actor.
Polus, Actor.
Meniscus, Actor.
Chion of Heraclea, in Pontus, Platonic Philosopher.
Diodorus, called *Cronos* of Iasus, Philosopher.
Stilpo of Megara, Philosopher, disciple of Euclid.
Xenophilus of Chalcis, in Thrace, Philosopher of the school of Pythagoras.
Echecrates of Phlius,
Phanton, his countryman,
Diocles of Phlius,
Polymnestes, his countryman,
} Last Philosophers of the school of Pythagoras.

Pytheas, of Athens, Orator.
Dinon, Historian.
Xenocrates of Chalcedon, Platonic Philosopher.
A. Aristotle of Stagira, Philosopher, head of the Peripatetic School.
Anaximenes of Lampsacus, Sophist, Improvisator, and Satiric Historian.
Diogenes of Sinope, Cynic Philosopher.
K. Herophilus of Chalcedon, Physician-anatomist.
Neophron of Sicyon, Tragic Poet.
Timotheus of Thebes, Musician.
Philippides of Athens, Comic Poet.
K. Apelles of Cos, Painter, and author of several treatises on Painting.
K. Aristides of Thebes,
K. Protogenes of Caunus,
Antiphilus of Naucratis,
Nicias of Athens,
Nicophanes,
Alcimachus,
} Painters.
Philinus of Cos, Empirical Physician.
Demophilus, son of Ephorus, Historian.
K. Calippus of Cyzicus, Astronomer, Author of a new Cycle.
Bacchius of Tanagra, Physician and Explainer of Hippocrates.
Irene,
Calypso,
Alcisthene,
Aristarete,
} Female Painters.
Menecrates of Elaia, Navigator and Geographer.
Phocion of Athens, Philosopher and Orator.
Monimus of Syracuse, Cynic Philosopher.
Marsyas of Pella, Historian.
O. Callisthenes of Olynthus, Philosopher, disciple of Aristotle, Historian,
Alexander of Pella, called the *Great*,
Anaxarchus of Abdera, Cynic Philosopher,
} Editors of Homer.
II. Aristoxenus of Tarentum, Philosopher, Historian and Musician.
O. Alexis of Thurium, Comic Poet.
Apollonius of Myndus, Astronomer.
Phanias of Eresus,
Antiphanes of Delos,
} Natural Philosophers.
Epigenes of Rhodes, Astronomer.
Crates of Thebes,
Hipparchia of Maronea, his wife,
Metrocles, her brother,
} Cynic Philosophers.
Philip of Acarnania, Physician.
Cleon of Syracuse, Geographer.
Menippus of Phœnicia, Cynic Philosopher.
Diognetus,
Bœton,
Nicobulus,
} Geographic Surveyors.
Chœreas of Athens, Mechanic and Writer on Husbandry.
Diadus, Mechanic.
Athenodorus,
Thessalus,
} Tragic Actors.
Lycon of Scarphea, Comic Actor.

Pyrgoteles, Engraver.
Thrasias of Mantinea, Physician.
D. Antiphanes of Rhodes, Comic Poet.
Menedemus of Eretria, Philosopher, disciple of Stilpo.
Dinocrates, Architect.
K. Zeno of Citium, Philosopher, Head of the Stoic Sect.
Perseus of Citium, his slave, Philosopher and Grammarian.
Alexinus of Elis, Philosopher, antagonist of Zeno.
Menedemus, disciple of Colotes, Lampsacus, Cynic Philosopher.
Philo, the slave of Aristotle, Apologist for the Philosophers.
Chrysippus of Cnidus, Physician.
K. Lysippus of Sicyon,
K. Lysistratus of Sicyon,
Sthenis of Olynthus,
Euphronides,
Sostratus of Chios,
Ion,
Silanion of Athens,
} Satuaries.
Eudemus of Rhodes, Astronomer, Historian, Geometrician, and Natural Philosopher.
M. Nearchus of Crete, Geographer and Navigator.
Iphippus of Olynthus, Historian.
Alexis, Physician.
Androsthenes of Thasos, Geographer and Traveller.
Hiero of Soli, Navigator.
Critodemus of Cos, Physician.
Thrasymachus of Corinth, Philosopher.
Clitarchus, son of Dinon, Historian.
K. Callias of Athens, Metallurgist.

THIRD CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

H. Theophrastus of Eresus, Philosopher and Naturalist.
Clearchus of Soli, Peripatetic Philosopher, Anatomist and Naturalist.
M. Menander of Athens,
M. Philemon of Soli,
D. Apollodorus of Gela,
} Poets of the New Comedy.
Cercidas of Megalopolis, Legislator and Poet.
Tisicrates of Sicyon,
Zeuxis, his disciple,
Iades,
} Statuaries, pupils of Lysippus.
Aristobulus, Historian.
Ariston of Chios,
Herillus of Carthage,
Sphærus of the Bosphorus,
Athenodorus of Soli,
Philonides of Thebes,
Calippus of Corinth,
Posidonius of Alexandria,
Zeno of Sidon,
} Philosophers, disciples of Zeno.

K. Pyrrho of Elis, Head of the Sceptic School.
Strato, called the *Naturalist*, of Lampsacus, Philospher.
Crantor of Soli, Platonic Philosopher.
M. Heraclitus of Pontus, Philosopher and Historian.
Diyllus of Athens, Historian.
Pamphilus of Amphipolis, Grammarian and Writer on Husbandry.
Polemon of Athens, Platonic Philosopher.
Lycon of Troas, Peripatetic Philosopher.
Demochares of Athens, Orator and Historian.
K. Pytheas of Massilia, Astronomer and Navigator.
M. Epicurus of Gargettus, in Attica, Philosopher, Head of his sect.
Ptolemy, son of Lagus, } Historians.
Callias of Syracuse, }
Leontion, }
Marmerion, }
Hedeia, } Courtesans, and Female Epicurean Philosophers.
Erotion, }
Nicidion, }
Antander of Syracuse, Historian.
O. Hermesianax of Colophon, Elegiac Poet.
O. Megasthenes, Traveller and Geographer.
O. Timæus of Tauromenium, Historian.
M. Leonidas of Tarentum, Epigrammatic Poet.
O. Timon of Phliasia, disciple of Pyrrho, and Satiric Poet.
M. Hecatæus of Abdera, Historian, }
Eurylochus of Elis, } Philosophers, disciples of Pyrrho.
Nausiphanes of Teos, }
Hieronymus of Cardia, Historian.
Hipponicus of Athens, Astronomer.
Hermachus of Mytilene, successor of Epicurus, }
Sandes of Lamsacus, }
Athenæus, }
Polyen of Lampsacus, }
Leonteus of Lampsacus, } Disciples of Epicurus.
Themista, his wife, }
Colotes of Lampsacus, }
Idomeneus, his countryman, }
Metrodorus of Lampsacus, }
Timocrates, his brother, }
Polystratus, third Head of his school, }
K. Arcesilaus of Pitane, Philosopher, Head of the Middle Academy
Demetrius of Phalerum, Orator, and Peripatetic Philosopher.
Patroclus, Navigator and Geographer.
Diognetus of Rhodes, Architect and Mechanic.
K. Chares of Lindus, pupil of Lysippus, Founder of the Colossus of Rhodes.
Leo of Byzantium, Historian.
Cineas of Thessaly, Epicurean Philosopher.
Psaon of Platæa, Historian.
II. Dicæarchus of Messena, Philosopher, Historian, and Geographer.
O. Simmias of Rhodes, Enigmatic Poet and Grammarian.
Rinthon of Syracuse, Tragic Poet.
Daimachus, Traveller and Tactician.

O. Dosiades of Rhodes, Enigmatic Poet.
Epimachus of Athens, Architect and Mechanic.
Philo, Architect.
Dionysius of Heraclea, called *Metathemenos* or the *Versatile* Philosopher.
M. Diphilus of Sinope, Comic Poet.
N. Nossis of Locris, Poetess.
Apollonides, } Engravers.
Cronius, }
Bion of Borysthenais, Philosopher.
Sopater of Paphos, Comic Poet.
Callias of Aradus, Architect and Mechanic.
O. Philetas of Cos, Grammarian and Poet.
O. Damoxenus of Athens, Epicurean Philosopher and Comic Poet.
M. Cleanthes of Assus, Stoic Philosopher, disciple of Zeno, and Hymnographic Poet.
II. Aristarchus of Samos, Astronomer.
Euthycides of Sicyon, }
Euthycrates, }
Lahippus, } Last Statuaries of the school of Lysippus.
Timarchus, }
Cephisodorus, }
Pyromachus, }
K. Erasistratus of Cos, Dogmatic Physician, Head of the school of Smyrna.
O. Diocles of Carystus, Physician.
Timocharis, } Astronomers.
Aristyllus, }
Zenodotus of Ephesus, Poet, Grammarian, and Editor of Homer.
K. Lacydes of Cyrene, Head of the New Academy.
O. Posidippus of Macedonia, Comic Poet.
O. Anyte of Tegea, Poetess.
A. Euclid, Geometrician, Optician and Astronomer.
Teleclus of Phocæa, Disciple of Lacydes.
Evander, his countryman, Disciple of Lacydes.
II. Lycophron of Chalcis, Poet and Grammarian.
Mnaseas of Patara, Geographer.
M. Diotimus of Adramyttium, Epigrammatic Poet.
Sostratus of Cnidus, Architect.
N. Melampus, Empiric Physician.
II. Antigonus of Carystus, Naturalist and Biographer.
Manetho of Diospolis, Historian.
Ctesibius, Mechanic.
O. Hedylus of Samos, Epigrammatic Poet.
II. Aratus of Soli, Poet and Astronomer.
O. Nicias of Miletus, Epigrammatic Poet.
II. Callimachus of Cyrene, Grammarian and Poet.
A. Theocritus of Syracuse, Aucolic Poet.

TABLE VI.

Containing the Names of Illustrious Men, arranged in Alphabetical Order.

In the preceding Table, the names of authors or artists are given in chronological order; in the following they are arranged alphabetically, with figures denoting the centuries before the Christian æra in which they flourished.

The use of these two tables is sufficiently obvious. When we see, for example, by the side of the name of Solon the figure 6, we may refer to the preceding Table, and passing the eye over the list of illustrious men who lived in the sixth century before Christ, we shall find Solon one of the first in that list, and consequently conclude that he must have flourished about the year 590 before Christ.

The asterisk which is placed by the side of a few names, signifies the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, centuries before Christ.

Names and Professions.	Cents. bef. C.	Names and Professions.	Cents. bef. C.
A.			
Acastus, inventor	*	Alcidamas, rhetorician	5
Acmon, mineralogist	*	Alcimachus, painter	4
Acragas, engraver	5	Alcisthena, female painter	4
Acron, physician	5	Alcmæon, philosopher	5
Acusilaus, historian	6	Alcman, poet	7
Æneas, tactician	4	Alexander, editor	4
Æschines, philosopher	4	Alexias, physician	4
Æschines, orator	4	Alexinus, philosopher	4
Æschylus, poet	5	Alexis, poet	4
Æsculapius, physician	*	Alexis, statuary	5
Æsop, fabulist	6	Ameristus, mathematician	5
Agamedes, architect	*	Amicleus, philosopher	4
Agatharchus, architect	5	Aminocles, ship-builder	9
Agatho, poet	5	Amphion, musician	*
Ageladas, statuary	5	Amphis, poet	4
Aglaophon, painter	5	Amyclas, mathematician	4
Agoracritus, statuary	5	Anacreon, poet	6
Alcamenes, statuary	5	Anaxagoras, philosopher	5
Alcæus, poet	7	Anaxagoras, statuary	5
Alcibiades, orator	4	Anaxandrides, poet	4

Anaxarchus, philosopher 4
Anaxilas, poet 4
Anaximander, historian 4
Anaximander, philospher 6
Anaximenes, philosopher 6
Anaximenes, rhetorician 4
Anaxis, historian 4
Andocides, orator 5
Androcydes, painter 4
Androdamas, legislator 6
Androsthenes, geographical traveller 4
Androtion, orator 4
Angelion, statuary 6
Anniceris, philosopher 4
Antander, historian 3
Antidotus, painter 4
Antigenedes, musician 4
Antigonus, naturalist 3
Antimachides, architect 6
Antimachus of Colophon, poet . 5
Antimachus of Teos, poet 8
Antiochus, historian 6
Antipater, philosopher 4
Antiphanes, natural philosopher 4
Antiphanes, poet 4
Antiphanes, statuary 5
Antiphilus, painter 4
Antiphon, rhetorician 5
Antistates, architect 6
Antisthenes, philosopher 4
Anyte, poetess 3
Apelles, painter 4
Apharæus, orator 4
Apollodorus, writer on husbandry 4
Apollodorus, painter 4
Apollodorus, poet 3
Apollonides, engraver 3
Apollonius, astronomer 4
Apollonius, physician 5
Ararus, poet 5
Aratus, poet 4
Arcesilaus, painter 5
Arcesilaus, philosopher 4
Archebulus, poet 4
Archelaus, philosopher 5
Archemus, statuary 6
Archetimus, philosopher 6
Archias, architect 5
Archilochus, poet 8
Archinus, orator 5
Archippus, philosopher 4
Archippus, poet 5
Archytas, philosopher 4
Arctinus, poet 9
Ardalus, poet 10
Arete, female philosopher 4
Arignotta, female philosopher .. 6
Arimnestes, philosopher 6
Arion, poet 7
Ariphron, poet 5
Aristarete, female painter..... 4
Aristarchus, poet 5
Aristarchus, astronomer..... 3
Aristeas, poet 10
Aristæus, philosopher..... . 6
Aristides, painter 4
Aristides, statuary 5
Aristippus of Cyrene, philosopher 4
Aristippus, called *Matrodidactos*, philosopher 4
Aristobulus, historian..... 3
Aristocles, painter..... 8
Aristocles, statuary 4
Aristogiton, statuary 4
Aristolaus, painter 4
Aristomedes, statuary 5
Aristomenes, poet..... 5
Ariston, philosopher 3
Aristophanes, poet 5
Aristophon, painter..... 4
Aristophon, orator 4
Aristotle, philosopher..... 4
Aristoxenus, philosopher..... 4
Aristyllus, astronomer 3
Artemon, mechanic 5
Asclepias, poet..... 4
Asclepiodorus, painter..... 4
Asopodorus, statuary..... 5
Aspasia, poetess..... 5
Astydamas, poet 4
Athanis, historian 4
Athanæus, mathematician..... 4
Athanæus, philosopher 3
Athenis, statuary 6
Athenodorus, actor 4
Athenodorus, philosopher..... 3
Athenodorus, statuary..... 5
Augias, poet..... 9
Antolycus, astronomer 4
Automenes, poet ..... *
Axiothea, female philosopher.. 4

B

Bacchius, physician..... 4
Bacchylides, poet 6
Battalus, poet 5
Bias, one of the seven sages, poet 6
Bion, mathematician 5
Bion, philosopher..... 3
Bœton, surveyor 4
Bothrys, poet..... 6
Briso, sophist 4
Brietes, painter 5
Brontinus, philosopher 5
Bryaxis, statuary 4
Bularchus, painter 8
Bupalus, statuary..... 6

C

Cadmus, inventor ..... *
Cadmus, historian 6
Calades, painter 4
Callæschros, architect 6
Callias, architect 3
Callias, historian 3
Callias, metallurgist 4
Callias, poet 5
Callicles, painter 4
Callicrates, architect 5
Callicratides, philosopher 5
Callimachus, grammarian 3
Callinus, poet 8
Callipides, actor 4
Callippus, astronomer 4
Callippus, rhetorician 4
Callippus of Athens, philosopher 4
Callippus of Corinth, philosopher 4
Callisthenes, philosopher 4
Callistratus, grammarian 5
Callistratus, orator 4
Calliteles, statuary 5
Callon of Ægina, statuary 6
Callon of Ellis, statuary 5
Calypso, female painter 4
Canachus, statuary 4
Cantharus, statuary 5
Carcinus, poet 5
Carpion, architect 5
Cebes, philosopher 4
Celmis, mineralogist ..... *
Cephalus, jurisconsult 4
Cephalus, orator 5
Cephisodorus, painter 5
Cephisodorus, rhetorician 4
Cephisodorus, statuary 3
Cephisodotus, statuary 4
Cepion, musician 7
Cereidas, legislator 3
Chares, writer on husbandry .. 4
Chares, founder 3
Charmades, painter 9
Charon, historian 5
Charondas, legislator 8
Chersias, poet 6
Cherisphron, architect 4
Chilo, one of the seven sages .. 6
Chion, philosopher 4
Chionides, poet 5
Chiron, astronomer ..... *
Chœreas, mechanic 4
Chœrilus of Athens, poet 6
Chœrilus of Samos, poet & historian 5
Chœriphon, poet 5
Chrysippus, physician 4
Chrysothemis, poet 8
Cimon, painter 8
Cinœthon, poet 8
Cinœthus, editor of Homer 6
Cineas, philosopher 3
Cleanthes, philosopher 3
Clearchus, statuary 6
Clearchus, philosopher 3
Cleobulus, one of the seven sages, legislator 6
Cleobulina, poetess 6
Cleon, geographer 4
Cleon, statuary 5
Cleonas, poet 7
Cleophantus, painter 9
Cleophon, orator 5
Cleostratus, astronomer 6
Clinomachus, rhetorician 4
Clinias, philosopher 4
Clisthenes, legislator 6
Clitarchus, historian 4
Clitodemus, historian 5
Cocus, rhetorician 4
Colotes, philosopher 3
Corax, rhetorician 5
Corinna, poetess 5
Corinnus, poet ..... *
Coriscus, philosopher 4
Corœbus, architect 5
Crantor, philosopher 3
Crates, philosopher 4
Crates, poet 5
Cratinus, poet 5
Cratippus, historian 5
Cratylus, philosopher 5
Creophylus, poet 10
Cresphontes, legislator 8
Critias, called *Nesiotes*, statuary 5
Critias, poet 5
Critobulus, physician 4
Critodemus, physician 4
Crito of Athens, philosopher .. 4
Crito of Ægæ, philosopher 4
Cronius, engraver 3
Ctesias, physician 4
Ctesibius, mechanic 3
Cydias, orator 5
Cydias, painter 4
Cylon, philosopher 4

D

Daimachus, traveller 3
Damastes, builder 10
Damastes, historian 6
Dameas, statuary 6
Damias, statuary 5
Damnaneus, mineralogist ..... *
Damo, female philosopher 6
Damocles, historian 5
Damon, musician 5
Damophila, poetess 7

Damophon, statuary 6
Damoxenus, poet 3
Daphne of Manto, divineress.... *
Daphnis, poet..... *
Dares, poet..... *
Dædalus, inventor..... *
Dædalus, statuary 6
Deiochus, historian..... 5
Demades, orator 4
Demetrius of Phalerum, orator.. 3
Democedes, physician..... 6
Demochares, orator 3
Democritus, philosopher..... 5
Demodocus, poet..... *
Demophilus, historian..... 4
Demophilus, painter..... 5
Demosthenes, orator 4
Dexippus, physician 5
Diadus, mechanic..... 4
Diagoras, philosopher..... 5
Dibutates, sculptor..... 7
Dicæarchus, philosopher..... 3
Dicæogenes, poet..... 9
Dictys, poet ..... *
Dinarchus, orator..... 4
Dinias, painter 9
Dinocrates, architect..... 4
Dinomenes, statuary..... 4
Dinon, historian 4
Dinon, statuary 5
Dinostratus, mathematician..... 4
Diocles, legislator..... 5
Diocles, philosopher..... 4
Diocles, poet..... 5
Diocles, physician 3
Diodorus, philosopher 4
Diogenes of Apollonia, philosopher 5
Diogones of Sinope, Cynic philosopher 4
Diogenes, historian 4
Diogenes, poet 4
Diognetus, architect 3
Diognetus, surveyor 4
Dion, philosopher..... 4
Dionysiodorus, historian 4
Dionysius, historian..... 5
Dionysius, painter. 5
Dionysius, philosopher..... 3
Dionysius, poet..... 4
Dionysius, statuary 5
Diotimus, poet 3
Diphilus, poet. 3
Dipœnus, statuary..... 6
Diyllus, historian..... 3
Dolon, buffoon 6
Dontas, statuary..... 6
Doryclidas, statuary 6
Dosiades, poet 3
Draco, legislator 7
Dropides, poet 6

E

Echecrates of Locris, philosopher 4
Echecrates of Phlius, philosopher 4
Echion, painter 4
Ecphantus, philosopher..... 4
Eladas, statuary 5
Empedocles, philosopher 5
Ephialtes, orator..... 5
Ephippus, poet..... 4
Ephorus, historian..... 4
Epicharmus, poet..... 5
Epicrates, poet..... 4
Epicurus, philosopher..... 3
Epigenes, astronomer 4
Epigenes, natural philosopher .. 4
Epimachus, architect 3
Epimenides, philosopher..... 7
Erasistratus, physician..... ... 3
Erastus, philosopher..... 4
Erichthonius, inventor..... *
Erinna, poetess 7
Erotion, female philosopher.... 3
Evander, philosopher..... 3
Evenor, painter 5
Evenus, poet..... 5
Euhemerus, philosopher 4
Euagon, philosopher..... 4
Eubulus, orator..... 4
Eubulus, painter..... 4
Eubulus, poet 4
Eubulides, historian..... 4
Euchyr, statuary 7
Euclid, mathematician 3
Euclid, philosopher..... 4
Euctemon, astronomer 5
Eudemus, historian..... 5
Eudemus, astronomer 4
Eudocus, sculptor..... *
Eudoxus, philosopher..... 4
Eugamon, poet 6
Eugeon, historian 5
Eumarus, painter..... 9
Eumelus, poet 9
Eumenes, historian 4
Eumicleus, poet..... *
Eumolpus, poet..... *
Eupalinus, architect..... 8
Euphantus, historian..... 4
Euphorion, poet..... 5
Euphranor, painter 4
Euphronides, statuary..... 4
Eupolis, poet 5
Eupompus, painter..... 4
Euriphanes, philosopher 4
Euriphron, physician..... 5
Euripides, poet 5
Eurylochus, philosopher 3
Eurytus, philosopher..... 4

Euthychides, statuary 3
Euthycrates, statuary 3
Euxenidas, painter 4

G

Gitiadas, architect 9
Glaucias, statuary 5
Glaucus, worker in iron 6
Glaucus, statuary 5
Glaucon, philosopher 4
Gorgasus, physician ..... *
Gorgasus, painter 5
Gorgias, rhetorician 5
Gorgias, statuary 5
Gorgus, legislator 7

H

Harpalus, astronomer 5
Hecatæus of Miletus, historian . 5
Hecatæus, of Abdera, historian 3
Hedeia, female philosopher 3
Hedylus, poet 4
Hegemon, poet 5
Hegesias, called *Pisathanatus*, philosopher 4
Hegesias, statuary 5
Hellanax, legislator 7
Helicon, astronomer 4
Hellanicus, historian 6
Heraclides, philosopher 4
Heraclitus of Ephesus, philosopher 6
Heraclitus of Pontus, philosopher 3
Hercules, inventor ..... *
Herillus, philosopher 3
Hermachus, philosopher 3
Hermesianax, poet 3
Hermias, historian 4
Hermippus, poet 5
Hermocrates, orator 5
Hermogenes, philosopher 5
Hermon, navigator 5
Hermotimus, mathematician 4
Hermotimus, philosopher 5
Herodicus, physician 5
Herodorus, zoologist 4
Herodotus, historian 5
Herophila, poetess ..... *
Herophilus, physician 4
Hesiod, poet 9
Hestiæus, philosopher 4
Hicetas, philosopher 5
Hiero, writer on husbandry 5
Hiero, navigator 4
Hieronymus, historian 3
Hipparchia, female philosopher 4
Hipparchus, editor 6
Hipparchus, philosopher 4
Hippasus, philosopher 5
Hippias, philosopher 5
Hippo, philosopher 4
Hippocrates of Chios, mathematician 5
Hippocrates of Cos, physician 5
Hippodamus, architect 5
Hippodamus, philosopher 4
Hippodicus, poet 6
Hipponax, poet 6
Hipponicus, mathematician 3
Hippotalus, philosopher 4
Histiæus, musician 4
Homer, poet 9
Homodorus, philosopher 4
Hyagnis, musician ..... *
Hygiæmon, painter 9
Hypatodorus, statuary 4
Hyperides, orator 4

I

Iadis, statuary 3
Jason, navigator ..... *
Ibycus, poet 7
Ictinus, architect 5
Idomeneus, philosopher 3
Ion of Chios, poet 5
Ion of Ephesus, rhapsodist 4
Ion, statuary 4
Iophon, poet 5
Iphicrates, orator 4
Iphippus, historian 4
Iphitus, legislator 6
Irene, female painter 4
Isæus, orator 4
Isocrates, rhetorician 4

L

Lacritus, orator 4
Lacydes, philosopher 3
Lahippus, statuary 3
Lamprus, poet 5
Laphaes, statuary 6
Lasthenia, female philosopher .. 4
Lasus, poet 6
Leochares, statuary 4
Leodamus, mathematician 4
Leodamus, orator 4
Leon, historian 3
Leon, mathematician 4
Leonidas, poet 3
Leonteas, philosopher 3
Leontium, courtezan and philosophress 3
Leptines, orator 4
Lesbonax, orator 5
Lesches, poet 7
Leucippus, philosopher 5
Licymmus, poet 4
Linus, poet ..... *
Lycaon, inventor ..... *
Lycinnus, painter 4

Lycius, statuary 5
Lycomedes, legislator..... 4
Lycon, actor 4
Lycon, philosopher..... 3
Lycophron, poet 3
Lycurgus, legislator..... 9
Lycurges, orator 4
Lysius, orator 5
Lysinus, poet..... 6
Lysippus, painter..... 5
Lysippus, statuary 4
Lysis, philosopher 4
Lysistratus, statuary 4

M

Machaon, physician ..... *
Magnes, poet.. 5
Mandrocles, architect. 5
Manetho, historian 3
Manto or Daphne, divineress... *
Marmerion, female philosopher. 3
Marsyas, historian 4
Marsyas, musician ..... *
Matricetas, astronomer 6
Mechopanes, painter..... 4
Medon, statuary 6
Megasthenes, traveller 3
Melampus, physician 3
Melampus, poet ..... *
Melanippides, poet..... 6
Melanthius, painter 4
Melas, statuary.. 6
Melasagoras, historian 5
Melisander, poet 10
Melissus, philosopher 6
Melitus, poet..... 4
Memmon, architect 6
Menæchmus, statuary..... 6
Menæchmus, mathematician 4
Menander, poet 3
Menecrates, physician..... 4
Menecrates, navigator..... 4
Menedemus of Eretria, philosopher 4
Menedemus of Lampsacus, philosopher..... 4
Menesicles, architect 5
Menesistratus, philosopher 4
Menippus, philosopher..... 4
Meniscus, actor 4
Metagenes of Cnossus, architect. 4
Metagenes of Xypeta, architect. 5
Meton, astronomer 5
Metrocles, philosopher 4
Metrodorus of Chios, philosopher 5
Metrodorus of Lampsacus, philosopher 4
Micciades, statuary 6
Micon, painter 5
Mimnermus, poet 6
Minos, legislator ..... *
Mithæcus, sophist..... 5
Mnaseas, geographer 3
Mnaseas, physician 4
Mnasitheus, rhapsodist 4
Mnegisithon, inventor..... 5
Mnesarchus, philosopher 6
Mnesion, legislator 9
Mnesiphilus, orator..... 6
Mnesiphilus, philosopher 4
Mnesistratus, philosopher 4
Monimus, philosopher..... 4
Musæus I, poet ..... *
Musæus II, poet 10
Myrmecides, sculptor 5
Myron, statuary 5
Myrtilus, poet 5
Myrtis, poetess..... 5
Myson, one of the seven sages.. 6
Myus, engraver 5

N

Naucrates, rhetorician 4
Naucydes, statuary 4
Nausiphanes, philosopher..... 3
Nearchus, navigator 4
Neoclitus, mathematician 4
Neophron, poet..... 4
Neoptolemus, actor 4
Neseas, painter 5
Nicanor, painter 5
Niceratus, poet .....
Nicias of Athens, painter..... 4
Nicias of Miletus, poet 3
Nicidion, female philosopher... 3
Nicobulus, surveyor 4
Nichochares, poet..... 5
Nichocharis, poet..... 4
Nicodorus, legislator 5
Nicomachus, physician ..... *
Nichomachus, painter..... 4
Nicophanes, painter 4
Nicophron, poet 5
Nicostratus, actor..... 4
Nossis, poetess..... 3
Nymphæus, poet.... 7

O

Ocellus, philosopher 5
Oenipodes, philosopher 5
Olen, poet .... *
Olympus, poet ..... *
Onatas, statuary 5
Onatus, philosopher 4
Onesicritus, philosopher..... 4
Onomacritus, legislator 10
Onomacritus, poet 6
Orœbantius, poet ..... *
Orpheus, poet ..... *

Othagoras, musician 4
Oxylus, legislator..... *

P

Palæphatus, mythologist..... 4
Palamedes, poet ..... *
Pamphilus, grammarian..... 4
Pamphilus, painter..... 4
Pamphus, poet ..... *
Panænus, painter..... 5
Panyasis, poet 5
Parmenides, philosopher 6
Parmenon, actor 4
Parrhasius, painter 3
Patroclus, navigator 4
Patroclus, statuary 4
Pausanias, physician 5
Pausias, painter 4
Pauson, painter 5
Perelius, statuary 5
Periander, legislator 6
Pericles, orator..... 5
Periclitus, musician..... 8
Perilaus, philosopher..... 4
Perillus, founder 6
Perius, painter 5
Perseus, philosopher 4
Phædon, philosopher 4
Phænus, astronomer 5
Phaleas, politician 4
Phanias, natural philosopher .. 4
Phanton, philosopher 4
Phæax, architect 5
Phemius, musician ..... *
Phemonoe, divineress ..... *
Pherecrates, poet..... 5
Pherecydes of Scyros, philosopher 6
Pherecydes of Leros, historian.. 5
Phidias, statuary 5
Phidon, legislator..... 9
Philammon, poet ..... *
Philemon, actor 4
Philemon, poet 4
Philetas, grammarian..... 3
Philetærus, poet 5
Philinus, physician..... 4
Philip of Medma, astronomer .. 4
Philip of Opus, astronomer 4
Philip, physician 4
Philippides, philosopher..... 4
Philiscus, rhetorician..... 4
Philistus, orator 4
Philistion, physician 4
Philocles, poet 5
Philolaus, legislator..... 8
Philolaus, philosopher 4
Philo, architect..... 3
Philo, philosopher..... 4
Philonides, philosopher 3
Philonides, poet 5
Philoxenus, poet 4
Phocion, philosopher..... 4
Phocus, astronomer 6
Phocylides, poet 7
Phradmon, statuary 5
Phryllus, painter 5
Phrynichus, poet 5
Phrynicus, poet 7
Phrynis, musician 5
Phrynon, statuary 5
Phyteus, architect 4
Pigres, poet..... 6
Pindar, poet 5
Pisander, poet 8
Pisistratus, editor of Homer 6
Pithon, philosopher 4
Pittacus, one of the seven sages 6
Plato, philosopher 4
Plato, poet..... 5
Plesirrhous, editor 5
Plisthanus, philosopher..... 4
Podalirius, physician ..... *
Polemarchus, astronomer 4
Polemon, philosopher..... 4
Polus, actor 4
Polus, rhetorician 5
Polybius, physician..... 5
Polycides, zoographer 4
Polycles, statuary 4
Polycletus, historian 5
Polycletus, statuary..... 5
Polycrates, rhetorician 5
Polyen, philosopher 3
Polygnotus, painter 5
Polyidus, mechanic..... 4
Polymnestes, philosopher 4
Polymnestes, poet 9
Polystratus, philosopher 3
Polyzelus, historian 6
Porinus, architect 6
Posidippus, poet 3
Posidonius, philosopher 3
Pratinas, poet 5
Praxagoras, physician..... 4
Praxilla, poetess 5
Praxiteles, statuary 4
Prodicus, poet 9
Prodicus, rhetorician 5
Pronapides, poet..... 10
Protagoras, philosopher..... 5
Protogenes, painter..... 4
Proxenus, rhetorician..... 4
Psaon, historian 3
Ptolomæus, historian..... 3
Pyrgoteles, engraver 4
Pyromachus, statuary..... 3
Pyrrho, philosopher 3
Pythagoras, philosopher 6

Pythagoras, statuary 5
Pytheas of Athens, orator 4
Pytheas of Massilia, astronomer. 3
Pytheas of Trœzen, poet..... 10
Pythodorus, statuary 6

R

Rhadamanthus, legislator..... *
Rhinton, poet..... 3
Rhœcus, founder 7

S

Sacadas, poet 6
Sanarion, poet 5
Sandes, philosopher 3
Sannion, musician..... 4
Sappho, poetess..... 7
Satyrus, architect 4
Scopas, statuary..... 4
Scylax, navigator and geographer 5
Scyllias, diver 5
Scyllis, statuary 6
Silanion, statuary..... 4
Simmias, philosopher 4
Simmias, poet 4
Simon, equerry 4
Simon, philosopher 4
Simon, statuary 5
Simonides of Ceos, poet..... 6
Simonides of Melos, poet..... 5
Sisyphus, poet ..... *
Smilis, statuary 6
Socrates, philosopher 5
Socrates of Thebes, statuary 5
Socrates of Chios, statuary 4
Soidas, statuary..... 6
Solon, one of the seven sages.... 6
Somis, statuary 5
Sopater, poet..... 3
Sophocles, poet..... 5
Sophron, poet 5
Sosicles, poet 4
Sostratus, architect 3
Sostratus, statuary 5
Sotades, poet..... 4
Speusippus, philosopher..... 4
Sphœrus, philosopher..... 3
Spintharus, architect..... 6
Stasinus, poet 9
Stesichorus the elder, poet 7
Stesichorus the younger, poet.... 5
Stesimbrotus, historian..... 5
Sthenis, statuary 4
Stilpo, philosopher 4
Stomius, statuary 5
Stratis, poet 5
Strato, philosopher 3
Susarion, buffoon..... 6
Syagrus, poet..... 10
Syennesis, physician 4

T

Tectæus, statuary 6
Telauges, philosopher..... 6
Teleclides, poet..... 5
Teleclus, philosopher..... 3
Telephanes, musician 4
Telephanes, statuary..... 4
Telesilla, poetess 5
Telestes, poet..... 5
Terpander, poet..... 7
Thales of Gortyna, legislator.... 10
Thales of Miletus, philosopher... 6
Thamyris, musician ..... *
Theætetus, astronomer..... 5
Theagenes, historian 5
Theano, poetess..... 6
Themista, female philosopher 3
Themistogenes, historian..... 4
Theoclus, statuary 6
Theocritus, poet. 3
Theodamas, orator 5
Theodectes, rhetorician 4
Theodorus, actor..... 4
Theodorus, founder..... 7
Theodorus, mathematician 5
Theodorus, philosopher 4
Theodorus, rhetorician 5
Theognis of Athens, poet..... 4
Theognis of Megara, poet..... 6
Theomnestes, painter. 4
Theophilus, physician 5
Theophilus, poet..... 5
Theophrastus, musician 5
Theophrastus, philosopher..... 3
Theopompus, historian..... 4
Theopompus, poet 5
Theramenes, orator..... 5
Therimachus, painter..... 4
Theseus, legislator..... *
Thespis, poet..... 6
Thessalus, actor 4
Thessalus, physician..... 5
Theudius, mathematician 4
Thrasias, physician 4
Thrasymachus, philosopher..... 4
Thrasymachus, rhetorician..... 5
Thucydides, historian 5
Thymœtus, poet..... *
Timæus, historian..... 3
Timæus of Locris, philosopher... 4
Timagoras, painter 5
Timanthes, painter 4
Timarchus, statuary..... 3
Timarete, female painter 5
Timocharis, astronomer..... 3
Timocrates, philosopher..... 3
Timocreon, poet..... 5

Timolaus, philosopher..... 4
Timoleon, legislator..... 4
Timon, called *the Misanthrope*, philosopher 5
Timon of Phliasia, philosopher.. 3
Timotheus, musician..... 4
Timotheus, poet..... 4
Timotheus, statuary..... 4
Tinichus, poet..... 4
Tiphys, navigator..... *
Tiresias, poet..... *
Tisias, rhetorician..... 5
Tisicrates, statuary..... 4
Triptolemus, legislator ..... *
Trophonius, architect..... *
Tyrtæus, poet 7

X

Xanthus, historian 6
Xanthus, poet..... 5
Xenagoras, ship-builder 4
Xenarchus, poet..... 5
Xeniades, philosopher..... 6
Xenocles, architect 5
Xenocrates, philosopher..... 4
Xenocritus, poet 8
Xenodamus, poet 10
Xenodemus, dancer 5
Xenomedes, historian 6
Xenophanes, philosopher 6
Xenophilus, philosopher..... 4
Xenophon, philosopher 4

Z

Zaleucus, legislator..... 8
Zenodotus, poet..... 3
Zeno of Elea, philosopher..... 5
Zeno of Citium, philosopher 4
Zeno of Sidon, philosopher 3
Zeuxis, painter 4
Zeuxis, statuary..... 3
Zoilus, rhetorician..... 4

TABLE VII.

Roman Measures reduced to French (and English).

It is necessary that we should know the value of the Roman foot and mile, to enable us to ascertain the value of the itinerary measures of the Greeks.

The French Royal foot is divided into 12 inches; each of which inches is again divided into 12 lines; thus the whole foot contains 1440 tenths of a line.

Tenths of a line.	Inches.	Lines.
1440	12	—
1430	11	11
1420	11	10
1410	11	9
1400	11	8
1390	11	7
1380	11	6
1370	11	5
1360	11	4
1350	11	3
1340	11	2
1330	11	1
1320	11	—
1315	10	$11\frac{4}{10}$
1314	10	$11\frac{3}{10}$
1313	10	$11\frac{2}{10}$
1312	10	$11\frac{1}{10}$
1311	10	$11\frac{1}{10}$
1310	10	11
1309	10	$10\frac{9}{10}$
1308	10	$10\frac{8}{10}$
1307	10	$10\frac{7}{10}$
1306	10	$10\frac{6}{10}$
1305	10	$10\frac{5}{10}$

Tenths of a line.	Inches.	Lines.
1304	10	$10\frac{4}{10}$
1302	10	$10\frac{3}{10}$
1309	10	$10\frac{2}{10}$
1301	10	$10\frac{1}{10}$
1300	10	10
1299	10	$9\frac{9}{10}$
1298	10	$9\frac{8}{10}$
1297	10	$9\frac{7}{10}$
1296	10	$9\frac{6}{10}$
1295	10	$9\frac{5}{10}$
1294	10	$9\frac{4}{10}$
1293	10	$9\frac{3}{10}$
1292	10	$9\frac{2}{10}$
1291	10	$9\frac{1}{10}$
1290	10	9

The learned are not agreed on the number of tenths of a line which should be assigned to the Roman foot; but I have chosen to follow M. D'Anville and others, who fix it at 1306 or 10 inches $10\frac{1}{5}$ lines (11,5988 inches English).

According to this estimation, the Roman pace, consisting of 5 feet, will contain 4 French Royal feet, 6 inches, 5 lines (4 feet 9,9940 inches English).

The Roman mile, consisting of a thousand paces, will contain 755 toises, 4 feet, 8 inches, 8 lines. But to avoid fractions, I shall take it, with M. D'Anville, at 756 toises (1611 yards, or 7 furlongs, 71 yards, English).

As 8 stadia are usually reckoned to the Roman mile, if we take the eighth part of 756 toises, the value of that mile, we shall have for the stadium $94\frac{1}{2}$ toises, (D'Anville Mes. Itiner. p. 70).

The Greeks had different kinds of stadia; but we here only speak of the ordinary stadium, known by the name of the Olympian.

TABLE VIII.

Roman Feet reduced to French (and English) Feet.

Roman Feet.	French Roy. Feet.	Inch.	Lines.	English Feet.	Inch. Dec.
1	0	10	$10\frac{6}{10}$	0	11,5988
2	1	9	$9\frac{2}{10}$	1	11,1976
3	2	8	$7\frac{8}{10}$	2	10,7964
4	3	7	$6\frac{4}{10}$	3	10,3952
5	4	6	5	4	9,9940
6	5	5	$3\frac{6}{10}$	5	9,5928
7	6	4	$2\frac{2}{10}$	6	9,1916
8	7	3	$0\frac{8}{10}$	7	8,7904
9	8	1	$11\frac{4}{10}$	8	8,3892
10	9	0	10	9	7,9880
11	9	11	$8\frac{6}{10}$	10	7,5868
12	10	10	$7\frac{2}{10}$	11	7,1856
13	11	9	$5\frac{8}{10}$	12	6,7844
14	12	8	$4\frac{4}{10}$	13	6,3832
15	13	7	3	14	5,9820
16	14	6	$1\frac{6}{10}$	15	5,5808
17	15	5	$0\frac{2}{10}$	16	5,1796
18	16	3	$10\frac{8}{10}$	17	4,7784
19	17	2	$9\frac{4}{10}$	18	4,3772
20	18	1	8	19	3,9760
21	19	0	$6\frac{6}{10}$	20	3,5748
22	19	11	$5\frac{2}{10}$	21	3,1736
23	20	10	$3\frac{8}{10}$	22	2,7724
24	21	9	$2\frac{4}{10}$	23	2,3712
25	22	8	1	24	1,9700
26	23	6	$11\frac{6}{10}$	25	1,5688
27	24	5	$10\frac{2}{10}$	26	1,1676
28	25	4	$8\frac{8}{10}$	27	0,7664
29	26	3	$7\frac{4}{10}$	28	0,3652
30	27	2	6	28	11,9640
31	28	1	$4\frac{6}{10}$	29	11,5628

Roman Feet.	French Roy. Feet.	Inch.	Lines.	English Feet.	Inch. Dec.
32	29	0	$3\frac{2}{10}$	30	11,1616
33	29	11	$1\frac{8}{10}$	31	10,7604
34	30	10	$0\frac{4}{10}$	32	10,3592
35	31	8	11	33	9,9580
36	32	7	$9\frac{6}{10}$	34	9,5568
37	33	6	$8\frac{2}{10}$	35	9,1556
38	34	5	$6\frac{8}{10}$	36	8,7544
39	35	4	$5\frac{4}{10}$	37	8,3532
40	36	3	4	38	7,9520
41	37	2	$2\frac{6}{10}$	39	7,5508
42	38	1	$1\frac{2}{10}$	40	7,1496
43	38	11	$11\frac{8}{10}$	41	6,7484
44	39	10	$10\frac{4}{10}$	42	6,3472
45	40	9	9	43	5,9460
46	41	8	$7\frac{6}{10}$	44	5,5448
47	42	7	$6\frac{2}{10}$	45	5,1436
48	43	6	$4\frac{8}{10}$	46	4,7424
49	44	5	$3\frac{4}{10}$	47	4,3412
50	45	4	2	48	3,9400
60	54	5	0	57	11,9280
70	63	5	10	67	7,9160
80	72	6	8	77	3,9040
90	81	7	6	86	11,8920
100	90	8	4	96	7,8800
200	181	4	8	193	3,7600
300	272	1	0	289	11,6400
400	362	9	4	386	7,5200
500	453	5	8	483	3,4000
600	544	2	0	579	11,2800
700	634	10	4	676	7,1600
800	725	6	8	773	3,0400
900	816	3	0	869	10,9200
1000	906	11	4	966	6,8
2000	1813	10	8	1933	1,6
3000	2720	10	0	2899	8,4
4000	3627	9	4	3866	3,2
5000	4534	8	8	4832	1,0
6000	5441	8	0	5799	
7000	6448	7	4	6765	11,6
8000	7255	6	8	7732	6,3
9000	8162	6	0	8699	1,2
10000	9069	5	5	9665	8
15000	13604	2	0	14498	6
20000	18138	10	8	19331	4

TABLE IX.

Roman Paces reduced to French Toises (and English Yards).

I HAVE said above that the Roman pace, containing 5 Roman feet, might be equal to about 4 French feet, 6 inches, 5 lines (four feet, 9,9940 inches English).

Roman Paces.	Toises.	Feet.	Inch.	Lines.	Yards.	Feet.	Inch. Dec.
1	—	4	6	5	1	1	9,9940
2	1	3	0	10	3	0	7,9880
3	2	1	7	3	4	2	5,982
4	3	0	1	8	6	1	3,976
5	3	4	8	1	8	0	1,970
6	4	3	2	6	9	1	11,964
7	5	1	8	11	11	0	9,958
8	6	0	3	4	12	2	7,952
9	6	4	9	9	14	1	5,946
10	7	3	4	2	16	0	3,940
11	8	1	10	7	17	2	1,934
12	9	0	5	0	19	0	11,928
13	9	4	11	5	20	2	9,922
14	10	3	5	10	22	1	7,916
15	11	2	0	3	24	0	5,910
16	12	0	6	8	25	2	3,904
17	12	5	1	1	27	1	1,898
18	13	3	7	6	28	2	11,892
19	14	2	1	11	30	1	9,886
20	15	0	8	4	32	0	7,880
21	15	5	2	9	33	2	5,874
22	16	3	9	2	35	1	3,868
23	17	2	3	7	37	0	1,862
24	18	0	10	0	38	1	11,856

Roman Paces.	Toises.	Feet.	Inch.	Lines.	Yards.	Feet.	Inch. Dec.
25	18	5	4	5	40	0	9,850
26	19	3	10	10	41	2	7,844
27	20	2	5	3	43	1	5,838
28	21	0	11	8	45	0	3,832
29	21	5	6	1	46	2	1,826
30	22	4	0	6	48	0	11,820
31	23	2	6	11	49	2	9,814
32	24	1	1	4	51	1	7,808
33	24	5	7	9	53	0	5,802
34	25	4	2	2	54	2	3,796
35	26	2	8	7	56	1	1,790
36	27	1	3	0	57	2	11,784
37	27	5	9	5	59	1	9,778
38	28	4	3	10	61	0	7,772
39	29	2	10	3	62	2	5,766
40	30	1	4	8	64	1	3,760
41	30	5	11	1	66	0	1,754
42	31	4	5	6	67	1	11,748
43	32	2	11	11	69	0	9,742
44	33	1	6	4	70	2	7,736
45	34	0	0	9	72	1	5,730
46	34	4	7	2	74	0	3,724
47	35	3	1	7	75	2	1,718
48	36	1	8	0	77	0	11,712
49	37	0	2	5	78	2	9,706
50	37	4	8	10	80	1	7,700
51	38	3	3	3	82	0	5,694
52	39	1	9	8	83	2	3,688
53	40	0	4	1	85	1	1,682
54	40	4	10	6	86	2	11,676
55	41	3	4	11	88	1	9,670
60	45	2	1	0	96	1	11,640
70	52	5	5	2	112	2	3,580
80	60	2	9	4	128	2	7,520
90	68	0	1	6	144	2	11,460
100	75	3	5	8	161	0	3,400
200	151	0	11	4	322	0	6,8
300	226	4	5	0	483	0	10,2
400	302	1	10	8	644	1	1,6
500	377	5	4	4	805	1	5,0
600	453	2	10	0	966	1	8,4
700	529	0	3	8	1127	1	11,8
800	604	3	9	4	1288	2	3,2
900	680	1	3	0	1449	2	6,6
1000	755	4	8	8	1610	2	10

Roman Paces.	Toises.	Feet.	Inch.	Lines.	Yards.	Feet.	Inches.
2000	1511	3	5	4	3221	2	8
3000	2267	2	2	0	4832	2	6
4000	3023	0	10	8	6443	2	2
5000	3778	5	7	4	8054	2	2
10000	7557	5	2	8	16109	1	4
20000	15115	4	5	4	32218	2	8
30000	22673	3	8	0	48328	1	0
40000	30231	2	10	8	64437	2	4
50000	37789	2	1	4	80547	0	8
100000	75578	4	2	8	161094	1	4
200000	151157	2	5	4	322188	2	8
300000	226736	0	8	0	483282	4	0
400000	302314	4	10	8	644376	5	4

TABLE X.

Roman Miles reduced to French Toises (and English Miles, &c.)

We have seen by the preceding Table, that, if we take the Roman Pace at 4 feet, 6 inches, 5 lines, the Roman mile will contain 755 toises, 4 feet, 8 inches, 8 lines; but to avoid fractions, we shall take it with M. D'Anville, at 756 toises (1611 yards English).

Roman Miles.	Toises.	English Miles.	Fur.	Yds.
1	756	0	7	71
2	1512	1	6	142
3	2268	2	5	213
4	3024	3	5	64
5	3780	4	4	135
6	4536	5	3	206
7	5292	6	3	57
8	6048	7	2	128
9	6804	8	1	199
10	7560	9	1	50
11	8316	10	0	121
12	9072	10	7	192
13	9828	11	7	43
14	10584	12	6	114
15	11340	13	5	185
16	12096	14	5	36
17	12852	15	4	107
18	13608	16	3	178
19	14364	17	3	29
20	15120	18	2	100
21	15876	19	1	171
22	16632	20	1	22
23	17388	21	0	93
24	18144	21	7	164

Roman Miles.	Toises.	English Miles.	Fur.	Yds.
25	18900	22	7	15
26	19656	23	6	86
27	20412	24	5	157
28	21168	25	5	8
29	21924	26	4	79
30	22680	27	3	150
31	23436	28	3	8
32	25192	29	2	78
33	24948	30	1	49
34	25704	31	1	0
35	26460	32	0	71
36	27216	32	7	142
37	27972	33	6	203
38	28728	34	6	64
39	29484	35	5	135
40	30240	36	4	206
41	30996	37	4	57
42	31752	38	3	128
43	32508	39	2	199
44	33264	40	2	50
45	34020	41	1	121
46	34776	42	0	192
47	35532	43	0	43
48	36288	43	7	108
49	37044	44	6	179
50	37800	45	6	30
100	75600	91	4	60
200	151200	183	0	120
300	226800	274	4	180
400	302400	366	1	20
500	378000	457	5	80
1000	756000	915	2	160

TABLE XI.

Grecian Feet reduced to French (and English) Feet.

We have said that the French foot is divided into 1440 tenths of a line, of which the Roman foot contained 1306.

The proportion of the Roman foot to the Grecian foot being as 24 to 25, we shall have for the latter 1360 tenths of a line, and a very small fraction, which may be disregarded. 1360 tenths of a line give 11 inches 4 lines.

Grecian Feet.	Fr. Roy. Feet.	Inch.	Lines.	English. Feet.	Inch. Dec.
1	0	11	4	1	0,0786
2	1	10	8	2	0,1572
3	2	10	0	3	0,2358
4	3	9	4	4	0,3144
5	4	8	8	5	0,3930
6	5	8	0	6	0,4716
7	6	7	4	7	0,5502
8	7	6	8	8	0,6288
9	8	6	0	9	0,7074
10	9	5	4	10	0,7860
11	10	4	8	11	0,8646
12	11	4	0	12	0,9432
13	12	3	4	13	1,0218
14	13	2	8	14	1,1004
15	14	2	0	15	1,1790
16	15	1	4	16	1,2576
17	16	0	8	17	1,3362
18	17	0	0	18	1,4148
19	17	11	4	19	1,4934
20	18	10	8	20	1,5720
21	19	10	0	21	1,6506
22	20	9	4	22	1,7292
23	21	8	8	23	1,8078
24	22	8	0	24	1,8864

Grecian Feet.	Fr. Roy. Feet.	Inch.	Lines.	English Feet.	Inch. Dec.
25	23	7	4	25	1,9650
26	24	6	8	26	2,0486
27	25	6	0	27	2,1222
28	26	5	4	28	2,2008
29	27	4	8	29	2,2794
30	28	4	0	30	2,3580
31	29	3	4	31	2,4366
32	30	2	8	32	2,5152
33	31	2	0	33	2,5938
34	32	1	4	34	2,6724
35	33	0	8	35	2,7510
36	34	0	0	36	2,8296
37	34	11	4	37	2,9082
38	35	10	8	38	2,9868
39	36	10	0	39	3,0654
40	37	9	4	40	3,1440
41	38	8	8	41	3,2226
42	39	8	0	42	3,3012
43	40	7	4	43	3,3798
44	41	6	8	44	6,4584
45	42	6	0	45	3,5370
46	43	5	4	46	3,6156
47	44	4	8	47	3,6942
48	45	4	0	48	3,7728
49	46	3	4	49	3,8514
50	47	2	8	50	3,9300
100	94	5	4	100	7,86
200	188	10	8	201	3,72
300	283	4	0	301	11,58
400	377	9	4	402	7,44
500	472	2	8	503	3,3
600	566	8	0	603	11,16

According to this table, 600 Grecian feet give only 94 toises, 2 feet, 8 inches, instead of 94 toises 3 feet, at which we have estimated the stadium. This slight difference arises from our having, with M. D'Anville, to avoid fractions, taken the Roman mile at somewhat more, and the stadium at somewhat less, than its true value.

TABLE XII.

Stadia reduced to French Toises, Roman Miles, and English Measures.

Stadia.	Fr. Toises.	Ro . Miles.	English Miles.	Fur.	Yds. Dec.
1	$94\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	0	0	201,4278
2	189	$\frac{1}{4}$	0	1	182,8556
3	$283\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	0	2	164,2834
4	378	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	3	145,7112
5	$472\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{5}{8}$	0	4	127,1390
6	567	$\frac{3}{4}$	0	5	108,5668
7	$661\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{7}{8}$	0	6	89,9946
8	756	1	0	7	71,4224
9	$850\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{8}$	1	0	52,8502
10	945	$1\frac{1}{4}$	1	1	34,2780
11	$1039\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{3}{8}$	1	2	15,7058
12	1134	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1	2	217,1336
13	$1228\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{5}{8}$	1	3	198,5614
14	1323	$1\frac{3}{4}$	1	4	179,9892
15	$1417\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{7}{8}$	1	5	161,4170
16	1512	2	1	6	142,8448
17	$1606\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{8}$	1	7	124,2726
18	1701	$2\frac{1}{4}$	2	0	105,7004
19	$1795\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{3}{8}$	2	1	87,1282
20	1890	$2\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	68,5560
21	$1984\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{5}{8}$	2	3	49,9838
22	2079	$2\frac{3}{4}$	2	4	31,4116
23	$2173\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{7}{8}$	2	5	12,8394
24	2268	3	2	5	214,2672
25	$2362\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{8}$	2	6	195,6950
26	2457	$3\frac{1}{4}$	2	7	177,1228
27	$2551\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{3}{8}$	3	0	158,5506
28	2646	$3\frac{1}{2}$	3	1	139,9784
29	$2740\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{5}{8}$	3	2	121,4062
30	2835	$3\frac{3}{4}$	3	3	102,8340
35	$3307\frac{1}{2}$	$4\frac{3}{8}$	4	0	9,9730
40	3780	5	4	4	137,1120
45	$4252\frac{1}{2}$	$5\frac{5}{8}$	5	1	44,2510
50	4725	$6\frac{1}{4}$	5	5	171,390

Stadia.	Fr. Toises.	Rom. Miles.	English Miles.	Fur.	Yds. Dec.
55	5197½	6¼	6	2	78,529
60	5670	7½	6	6	205,668
65	6142½	8¼	7	3	112,807
70	6615	8¾	8	0	19,946
75	7087½	9⅜	8	4	147,085
80	7560	10	9	1	54,224
85	8032½	10¼	9	5	181,363
90	8505	11¼	10	2	88,502
95	8977	11¼	10	6	215,641
100	9450	12½	11	3	122,780
200	18900	25	22	7	25,560
300	28350	37½	34	2	148,34
400	37800	50	45	6	51,12
500	47250	62½	57	1	173,90
600	56700	75	68	5	76,68
700	66150	87½	80	0	199,46
800	75600	100	91	4	102,24
900	85050	112½	103	0	5,02
1000	94500	125	114	3	127,80
2000	189000	250	228	7	35,6
3000	283500	375	343	2	163,4
4000	378000	500	457	6	71,2
5000	472500	625	572	1	199,0
6000	567000	750	686	5	106,8
7000	661500	875	801	1	14,6
8000	756000	1000	915	4	142,4
9000	850500	1125	1030	0	50,2
10000	945000	1250	1144	3	58
11000	1039500	1375	1258	6	185
12000	1134000	1500	1373	2	92
13000	1228500	1625	1487	5	219
14000	1323000	1750	1602	1	126
15000	1417500	1875	1716	5	33
16000	1512000	2000	1831	0	160
17000	1606500	2125	1945	4	67
18000	1701000	2250	2059	7	194
19000	1795500	2375	2174	3	101
20000	1890000	2500	2288	7	8

[The small difference in the value of the Roman miles, in the high numbers, observable between this Table and Table VII. arises from the neglect of the fraction in the latter, which it seemed more necessary to retain here, both for accuracy, and to prevent a still greater disagreement.—T.]

TABLE XIII.

Stadia estimated in French Leagues of 2500 Toises each.

Stadia.	Leagues.	Toises.	Stadia.	Leagues.	Toises.
1	—	94½	55	2	197½
2	—	189	60	2	670
3	—	283½	65	2	1142½
4	—	378	70	2	1615
5	—	472½	75	2	2087½
6	—	567	80	3	60
7	—	661½	85	3	6532½
8	—	756	90	3	1005
9	—	850½	95	3	1477½
10	—	945	100	3	1950
11	—	1039½	110	4	395
12	—	1134	120	4	1340
13	—	1228½	130	4	2285
14	—	1323	140	5	730
15	—	1417½	150	5	1675
16	—	1512	160	6	120
17	—	1606½	170	6	1065
18	—	1701	180	6	2010
19	—	1795½	190	7	455
20	—	1890	200	7	1400
21	—	1984½	210	7	2345
22	—	2079	220	8	790
23	—	2173½	230	8	1735
24	—	2268	240	9	180
25	—	2362½	250	9	1125
26	1	2457	260	9	2070
27	1	51½	270	10	515
28	1	146	280	10	1460
29	1	240½	290	10	2405
30	1	335	300	11	850
35	1	807½	400	15	300
40	1	1280	500	18	2250
45	1	1752½	600	22	1700
50	1	2225	700	26	1150

Stadia.	Leagues.	Toises.	Stadia.	Leagues.	Toises.
800	30	600	50000	1890	—
900	34	50	60000	2268	—
1000	37	2000	70000	2646	—
1500	56	1750	80000	3024	—
2000	75	1500	90000	3402	—
2500	94	1250	100000	3780	—
3000	113	1000	110000	4158	—
4000	151	500	120000	4536	—
5000	189	——	130000	4914	—
6000	226	2000	140000	5292	—
7000	264	1500	150000	5670	—
8000	302	1000	160000	6048	—
9000	340	500	170000	6426	—
10000	378	——	180000	6804	—
11000	415	2000	190000	7182	—
12000	453	1500	200000	7560	—
13000	491	1000	210000	7938	—
14000	520	500	220000	8316	—
15000	567	——	230000	8694	—
16000	604	2000	240000	9072	—
17000	642	1500	250000	9450	—
18000	680	1000	260000	9828	—
19000	718	500	270000	10206	—
20000	756	——	280000	10584	—
25000	945	——	290000	10962	—
30000	1134	——	300000	11340	—
40000	1512	——	400000	15120	—

TABLE XIV.

Athenian Money reduced to French (and English).

I DO not mean to speak of the gold or copper, but only of the silver, money of Athens; the value of the former may easily be obtained from that of the latter.

The talent was equal to.....6000 drachmas.
The mina to..... 100 dr.
The tetradrachm to..... 4 dr.

And the drachma was divided into six oboli.

The value of the drachma cannot be precisely ascertained; the utmost we can do is, to approach it; and to this end it will be necessary to know its weight and fineness.

I have chosen to work on the tetradrachms, because they are more common than the drachmas, their other multiples, or their subdivisions.

Some literary persons, on whose accuracy I can rely, were so obliging as to lend me their assistance in weighing a great number of these coins. I afterwards applied to M. Tillet, of the Academy of Sciences, Royal Assay master.* I shall say nothing of his intelligence, his love of the public good, or his zeal for the advancement of learning; but it is my duty to return him my thanks for having, at my request, made an assay of some tetradrachms I had received from Athens, ascertained their fineness, and compared their value with that of our money.

It will be proper to distinguish two kinds of tetradrachms: the more ancient, which were struck till about the time of Pericles, and perhaps to the end of the Peloponnesian war; and those which are posterior to that æra. Both bear on one side the head of Minerva, and on the reverse an owl. On the latter coins the owl stands on a vase; and they also bear monograms, or names; and sometimes, though rarely, both.

1. *The more ancient tetradrachms.* These are of a ruder workmanship less in diameter, and thicker than the others. The reverses exhibit traces more or less evident of the square form of the dies in the earlier ages.—See Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. tom. xxiv. p. 30.

Eisenschmid (De Ponder, et Mens. sect. 1. cap. 3,) has published one which, as he assures us, weighed 333 grains (273½ grains Eng. Troy weight), which will give for the drachma 83¼ gr. (68½ gr. Eng.) We have weighed fourteen similar coins, the greater part of which are in the

* Commissaire du Roi pour les Essais et Affinages des Monnoies.

cabinet of the king of France; and those in the best preservation have only given 324¼ grains. A like number are found in the collection of Coins of Cities and States of the late Dr. Hunter (p. 48 et 49), the heaviest of which weighs 265½ grains, which corresponds to 323¼ French.

Thus we have, on the one hand, a coin which, according to Eisenschmid, weighed 333 grains; on the other, twenty-eight coins, of which those in the best preservation weigh only 324. If this author did not commit a mistake, if other tetradrachms should be discovered of the same age and the same weight, we must allow that, on some occasions, they increased them to 332 or 336 grains; but we shall add that, in general, they weighed only about 324; and as, in the space of 2200 years, they must have lost something of their weight, we may estimate them at 328 grains, which will give it 82 grains for the drachma.

It was necessary to ascertain their fineness. M. Tillet made an assay of one which weighed 324 grains, and found that it was 11 deniers 20 grains fine*; and that the almost pure silver of which it consisted was intrinsically worth, according to the tariff price, 52 livres, 14 sols, 3 deniers the marc.

"This tetradrachm," says M. Tillet, "was therefore intrinsically worth 3 livres, 14 sols (3s. 1d.); whereas 324 grains of silver, of the value of the French crowns, are only worth 3 livres, 8 sols (2s. 10d.).

"But the value of the silver in both cases, considered as money, and charged with the expenses of fabrication, and the right of seignorage, receives some augmentation above that of unwrought metal; and hence it is that a marc of silver, consisting of eight crowns of 6 livres and three pieces of 12 sous, is, by the authority of the sovereign, rendered, in commercial circulation, worth 49 livres, 46 sols, that is to say, 1 livre 7 sols more than another uncoined marc of the same silver with the crowns." We must pay attention to this augmentation, if we wish to know the true value of such a tetradrachm in our present money.

It follows from the experiments and observations of M. Tillet, that a marc of tetradrachms, each of the weight of 324 grains (266 gr. Eng.), and 11 deniers 20 grains fine, would now be worth in commerce 54 livres, 3 sols, 9 deniers (2l. 5s. 1¾d.), each tetradrachm 3 livres 16 sols (3s. 2d.); each drachma 19 sols (9½d.); and the talent 5700 livres, (237l. 10s.)

If the tetradrachm weigh 328 grains (269½ gr. Eng.), and the drachma 82, the latter will be worth 19 sols and about 3 deniers, and the talent 5775 livres (240l. 12s. 6d.) nearly.

If we take the tetradrachm at 332 grains (272½ gr. Eng.), the drachma

* The fineness of silver is estimated in France by deniers and grains; each denier contains 24 grains, and pure silver is said to be 12 deniers fine. In the above metal therefore the alloy was 1.72 part, or 3 dwt. 8 gr. in a pound of silver.—T.

weighma 83 grains, will be worth 19 sols and about 6 deniers (9¾d.), and the talent nearly 5850 livres (243l. 15s.).

Estimating the weight of the tetradrachm at 336 grains (276 gr. Eng.), and that of the drachma at 84, the value of the latter will be 19 sols 9 deniers, and the talent about 5925 livres (246l. 17s. 6d.)

Lastly, if we allow 340 grains (279 gr. Eng.) for the weight of the tetradrachm, and 85 for that of the drachma, the latter will be worth about 1 livre (10d.) and that of the talent about 6000 livres (250l.)

It is unnecessary to remark that, if the tetradrachm be estimated at a less weight, the value of the drachma and the talent will diminish in proportion.

2. *Les ancient tetradrachms.* These were current during four or five centuries, and are much more numerous than the preceding ones, from which they differ in the shape, workmanship, monograms, names of magistrates, and other peculiarities which their reverses present; and especially by the rich ornaments with which the head of Minerva is decorated. There is even reason to conjecture that the engravers designed this head from the celebrated statue in the citadel of Athens. Pausanius (lib. 1. cap. 24. p. 57.) observes that, among other ornaments, Phidias had represented a griffin on each side of the helmet of the goddess; and this symbol is, in fact, seen on the tetradrachms which are posterior to the time of that artist, but never on those which are more ancient.

We have weighed above a hundred and sixty of these tetradrachms. The cabinet of the king of France contains more than a hundred and twenty. The heaviest weigh 320 grains (203 gr. Eng.), but the number of these is very small; the greater part only weigh 315, 314, 313, 312, 310, 306, &c. or a little more or less, according to the different degrees of their preservation. There are some of a much inferior weight, because they are of baser metal.

From among more than ninety tetradrachms, described, with their weight, in the Collection of the Coins of Cities and States of the late Dr. Hunter, published with great care in England, seven or eight weigh more than 320 French grains; one among others, which bears the name of Mentor and Moschion, weighs 271¾ grains English, or about 331 French; and this is the more remarkable, because, of five other coins from the same cabinet, with the same names, the heaviest does not weigh more than 318 French grains, and the lightest only 312, which is the same weight as that of a similar coin in the cabinet of the king of France. I expressed my surprise at this to Mr. Combe, the editor of that excellent collection, who was so obliging as to examine anew the weight of the tetradrachm in question, and found that it had been accurately given. This coin, however, proves that there was an augmentation in the weight of the money, which had no consequences.

Though the greater part of the tetradrachms that are come down to us have been diminished by the wear, and other accidents, we cannot

but perceive, from a general inspection, that the weight of the silver coin suffered a diminution. Was this successive? At what limit did it stop? These queries are difficult to resolve; since, in coins of the same age, we sometimes find a remarkable uniformity in the weight, and sometimes a difference no less extraordinary. Of three tetradrachms which bear the names of Phanocles and Apollonius (Collection of Hunter, p. 54.), one weighs 253 grains, the other 235¼, and the third 253¾ English Troy weight, or about 308½, 308½, 309 grains French; while nine others, with the names of Nestor and Mnaseas, diminish gradually from about 320 to about 310 French grains, (ibid, p. 53.)

Besides the accidents which have diminished the weight of all ancient coins, it appears that the Greek moneyers, being obliged to coin so many drachmas to the mina, or the talent, as ours are to strike such a number of twelve sol pieces to the marc, were less attentive, than we are at present, to render the weight of each piece of money equal.

In this research we are stopped short by another difficulty. The Athenian tetradrachms have no date; and I know only one the fabrication of which can be referred to any determinate time. It was struck by command of the tyrant Aristion, who, in the year 88 before Christ, having seized on Athens, was besieged in that city by Sylla. It bears on one side the head of Minerva, and on the other a star within a crescent, as on the coins of Mithridates. Around this is the name of that prince, that of Athens, and that of Aristion. It is in the collection of Dr. Hunter. Mr. Combe, to whom I applied to obtain the weight of this coin, was so obliging as to ascertain it at my request, and to inform me that it weighs 254 grains English, which are equivalent to $309\frac{16}{33}$ grains French. Two other tetradrachms, from the same cabinet, on which the name of the same Aristion is found, together with two other names, weigh from 313 to 314 French grains.

Amid so many varieties, all of which I cannot here enumerate, I have judged it most adviseable to choose a mean. We have already seen that before and in the time of Pericles, the weight of the drachma was 81, 82, and even 83 French grains. I imagine that in the following century, in which age I suppose Anacharsis to have travelled, it had fallen to 79 grains, which gives 316 grains for the tetradrachm. I take this for the standard, because it is nearest the weight of the greater part of tetradrachms which are in the best preservation.

It appears that when the weight of the tetradrachms was diminished, they were also adulterated; but in confirmation of this supposition many trials cannot be made. M. Tillet has made an assay of two tetradrachms; one of which weighed 311 grains, and about two-thirds, and the other $310\frac{1}{16}$. The former was found to be 11 deniers 12 grains fine, and consequently had only $\frac{1}{31}$ part alloy; and the other was 11 deniers 9 grains fine.

Taking the weight of the tetradrachm at 316 grains, and supposing

it 11 deniers 12 grains fine, M. Tillet estimates the value of the drachma to have been equivalent to 18 sols (9d.) and a quarter of a denier of our money. We shall disregard this fraction of the denier, and say, that taking these to have been, as they probably were, the true weight and fineness, the value of the talent was 5400 livres (225*l.*) It is from this valuation that I have drawn up the following table. If, supposing the tetradrachm of the same fineness, we allow it to weigh only 312 grains; the drachma, which will then weigh only 78 grains, will be worth only 17 sols 9 deniers (8⅞d.) and the talent 5325 livres (221l. 17s. 6d.) Thus diminishing or augmenting the weight of the drachma by a grain diminishes or augments the value of that drachma by 3 deniers (half a farthing); and that of the talent by 75 livres (3l. 2s. 6d.), supposing the silver always of the same fineness.

To estimate the comparative value of the Athenian and our money to greater exactness, it would be necessary to compare the respective value of commodities. But I have found so many variations in the prices of those of Athens, and so little assistance in ancient authors, that I have abandoned this design. Besides, the Table which I here give, only required a general approximation to the true value.

In it, as I have already said, I suppose the drachma to weigh 79 grains, and to be 11 deniers 12 grains fine. The Table is only relative to the second kind of tetradrachms.

Drachmas.	Livres.	Sols.	L.	S.	D.
1	—	18	0	0	9
The obolus, the 6th part of the drach.	—	3	0	0	1¼
2	1	16	0	1	6
3	2	14	0	2	3
4	3	12	0	3	0
5	4	10	0	3	9
6	5	8	0	4	6
7	6	6	0	5	3
8	7	4	0	6	0
9	8	2	0	6	9
10	9	0	0	7	6
11	9	18	0	8	3
12	10	16	0	9	0
13	11	14	0	9	9
14	12	12	0	10	6
15	13	10	0	11	3
16	14	8	0	12	0
17	15	0	0	12	9
18	16	4	0	13	6
19	17	2	0	14	3
20	18	0	0	15	0

Drachmas.	Livres.	Sols.	L.	S.	D.
21	18	18	0	15	9
22	19	16	0	16	6
23	20	14	0	17	3
24	21	12	0	18	0
25	22	10	0	18	9
26	23	8	0	19	6
27	24	6	1	0	3
28	25	4	1	1	0
29	26	2	1	1	9
30	27	0	1	2	6
31	27	18	1	3	3
32	28	16	1	4	0
33	29	14	1	4	9
34	30	12	1	5	6
35	31	10	1	6	3
36	32	8	1	7	0
37	33	6	1	7	9
38	34	4	1	8	6
39	35	2	1	9	3
40	36	0	1	10	0
41	36	18	1	10	9
42	37	16	1	11	6
43	38	14	1	12	3
44	39	12	1	13	0
45	40	10	1	13	9
46	41	8	1	14	6
47	42	6	1	15	3
48	43	4	1	16	0
49	44	2	1	16	9
50	45	0	1	17	6
51	45	18	1	18	3
52	46	16	1	19	0
53	47	14	1	19	9
54	48	12	2	0	6
55	49	10	2	1	3
56	50	8	2	2	0
57	51	6	2	2	9
58	52	4	2	3	6
59	53	2	2	4	3
60	54	0	2	5	0
61	54	18	2	5	9
62	55	16	2	6	6
63	56	14	2	7	3
64	57	12	2	8	0
65	58	10	2	8	9
66	59	8	2	9	6
67	60	6	2	10	3
68	61	4	2	11	0
69	62	2	2	11	9

Drachmas.		Livres.	Sols.	L.	S.	D.
70	—	63	0	2	12	6
71	—	63	18	2	13	3
72	—	64	16	2	14	0
73	—	65	14	2	14	9
74	—	66	12	2	15	6
75	—	67	10	2	16	3
76	—	68	8	2	17	0
77	—	69	6	2	17	9
78	—	70	4	2	18	6
79	—	70	2	2	19	3
80	—	71	0	3	0	0
81	—	72	18	3	0	9
82	—	73	16	3	1	6
83	—	74	14	3	2	3
84	—	75	12	3	3	0
85	—	76	10	3	3	9
86	—	77	8	3	4	6
87	—	78	6	3	5	3
88	—	79	4	3	6	0
89	—	80	2	3	6	9
90	—	81	0	3	7	6
91	—	81	18	3	8	3
92	—	82	16	3	9	0
93	—	83	14	3	9	9
94	—	84	12	3	10	6
95	—	85	10	3	11	3
96	—	86	8	3	12	0
97	—	87	6	3	12	9
98	—	88	4	3	13	6
99	—	89	2	3	14	3
	Minæ.					
100 dr. or	1	90	0	3	15	0
200 dr. or	2	180	0	7	10	0
300 dr. or	3	270	0	11	5	0
400 dr. or	4	360	0	15	0	0
500 dr. or	5	450	0	18	15	0
600 dr. or	6	540	0	22	10	0
700 dr. or	7	630	0	26	5	0
800 dr. or	8	720	0	30	0	0
900 dr. or	9	810	0	33	15	0
1000 dr. or	10	900	0	37	10	0
2000 dr. or	20	1800	0	75	0	0
3000 dr. or	30	2700	0	112	10	0
4000 dr. or	40	3600	0	150	0	0
5000 dr. or	50	4500	0	187	10	0

6000 dr. or 60 minæ make the talent.

Talents.	Livres.	L.	Talents.	Livres.	L.
1	5400	225	60	324000	13500
2	10800	450	70	378000	15750
3	16200	675	80	432000	18000
4	21600	900	90	486000	20250
5	27000	1125	100	540000	22500
6	32400	1350	200	1080000	45000
7	37800	1575	300	1620000	67000
8	43200	1800	400	2160000	90000
9	48600	2025	500	2700000	112500
10	54000	2250	600	3240000	135000
11	59400	2475	700	3780000	157500
12	64800	2700	800	4320000	180000
13	70200	2925	900	4860000	202500
14	75600	3150	1000	5400000	225000
15	81000	3375	2000	10800000	450000
16	86400	3600	3000	16200000	675000
17	91800	3825	4000	21600000	900000
18	97200	4050	5000	27000000	1125000
19	102600	4275	6000	32400000	1350000
20	108000	4500	7000	37800000	1575000
25	135000	5625	8000	43200000	1800000
30	162000	6750	9000	48600000	2025000
40	216000	9000	10000	54000000	2250000
50	270000	11250			

TABLE XV.

Grecian Weights reduced to French and English.

The Attic talent weighed 60 minæ, or 6000 drachmas. We take the weight of the drachma at 79 French grains. With us the gros contains 72 grains, the ounce 8 gros or 576 grains, the marc 8 ounces or 4608 grains, and the pound 2 marcs or 9216 grains.

Drachmas.	French Weight. Oz.	Gros.	Grains.	Eng. Troy Weight. Oz.	Dwt.	Gr. Dec.
1	—	1	7	—	2	16,9
2	—	2	14	—	5	9,8
3	—	3	21	—	8	2,7
4	—	4	28	—	10	19,6
5	—	5	35	—	13	12,5
6	—	6	42	—	16	5,4
7	—	7	49	—	18	22,3
8	1	0	56	1	1	15,2
9	1	1	63	1	4	8,1
10	1	2	70	1	7	1,0
11	1	4	5	1	9	17,9
12	1	5	12	1	12	10,8
13	1	6	19	1	15	3,7
14	1	7	26	1	17	20,6
15	2	0	33	2	0	13,5
16	2	1	40	2	3	6,4
17	2	2	47	2	5	23,3
18	2	3	54	2	8	16,2
19	2	4	61	2	11	9,1
20	2	5	68	2	14	2,0
21	2	7	3	2	16	18,9
22	3	0	10	2	19	11,8
23	3	1	17	3	2	4,7
24	3	2	24	3	4	21,6
25	3	3	31	3	7	14,5
26	3	4	38	3	10	7,4

Drachmas.	Liv.	Mar.	Oz.	Gros.	Grains.	Lib.	Oz.	Dwt.	Gr. D.
27 —	—	—	3	5	45	—	3	13	0,3
28 —	—	—	3	6	52	—	3	15	17,2
29 —	—	—	3	7	59	—	3	18	10,1
30 —	—	—	4	0	66	—	4	1	3,0
31 —	—	—	4	2	1	—	4	3	19,9
32 —	—	—	4	3	8	—	4	6	12,8
33 —	—	—	4	4	15	—	4	9	5,7
34 —	—	—	4	5	22	—	4	11	22,6
35 —	—	—	4	6	29	—	4	14	15,5
36 —	—	—	4	7	36	—	4	17	8,4
37 —	—	—	5	0	43	—	5	0	1,3
38 —	—	—	5	1	50	—	5	2	18,2
39 —	—	—	5	2	57	—	5	5	11,1
40 —	—	—	5	3	64	—	5	8	4,0
41 —	—	—	5	4	71	—	5	10	20,9
42 —	—	—	5	6	6	—	5	13	13,8
43 —	—	—	5	7	13	—	5	16	6,7
44 —	—	—	6	0	20	—	5	18	23,6
45 —	—	—	6	1	27	—	6	1	16,5
46 —	—	—	6	2	34	—	6	4	9,4
47 —	—	—	6	3	41	—	6	7	2,3
48 —	—	—	6	4	48	—	6	9	19,2
49 —	—	—	6	5	55	—	6	12	12,1
50 —	—	—	6	6	62	—	6	15	5,0
60 —	—	1	0	1	60	—	8	2	6
70 —	—	1	1	4	58	—	9	9	7
80 —	—	1	2	7	56	—	10	16	8
90 —	—	1	4	2	54	1	0	3	9
100 Drach. or one Mina.	—	1	5	5	52	1	1	10	10
2 —	1	1	3	3	32	2	3	0	20
3 —	2	1	1	1	12	3	4	11	6
4 —	3	0	6	6	64	4	6	1	16
5 —	4	0	4	4	44	5	7	12	2
6 —	5	0	2	2	24	6	9	2	12
7 —	6	0	0	0	4	7	10	12	22
8 —	6	1	5	5	56	9	0	3	8
9 —	7	1	3	3	36	10	1	13	18
10 —	8	1	1	1	16	11	3	4	4
11 —	9	0	6	6	68	12	4	14	14
12 —	10	0	4	4	48	13	6	5	0
13 —	11	0	2	2	28	14	7	15	10
14 —	12	0	0	0	8	15	9	5	20
15 —	12	1	5	5	60	16	10	16	6
16 —	13	1	3	3	40	18	0	6	16
17 —	14	1	1	1	20	19	1	17	2

Minæ.		Liv.	Mar.	Oz.	Gros.	Gr.	Lib.	Oz.	Dwt.	Gr.
18	—	15	0	6	7	0	20	3	7	12
19	—	16	0	4	4	52	21	4	17	22
20	—	17	0	2	2	32	22	6	8	8
21	—	18	0	0	0	12	23	7	18	18
22	—	18	1	5	5	64	24	9	9	4
23	—	19	1	3	3	44	25	10	19	14
24	—	20	1	1	1	24	27	0	10	0
25	—	21	0	6	7	4	28	2	0	10
26	—	22	0	4	4	56	29	3	10	20
27	—	23	0	2	2	36	30	5	1	6
28	—	24	0	0	0	16	31	6	11	16
29	—	24	1	5	5	68	32	8	2	2
30	—	25	1	3	3	48	33	9	12	12
35	—	30	0	0	0	20	39	5	4	14
40	—	34	0	4	4	64	45	0	16	16
45	—	38	1	1	1	36	50	8	8	18
50	—	42	1	5	6	8	56	4	0	20
60	Minæ, or one Tal.	51	0	6	7	24	67	7	5	0
2	—	102	1	5	6	48	135	2	10	0
3	—	154	0	4	6	0	202	9	15	0
4	—	205	1	3	5	24	270	5	0	0
5	—	257	0	2	4	48	338	0	5	0
6	—	308	1	1	4	0	405	7	10	0
7	—	360	0	0	3	24	473	2	15	0
8	—	411	0	7	2	48	540	10	0	0
9	—	462	0	6	2	0	608	5	5	0
10	—	514	1	5	1	24	676	0	10	0
20	—	1028	1	2	2	48	1252	1	0	0
30	—	1542	1	7	4	0	2028	1	10	0
40	—	2057	0	4	5	24	2704	2	0	0
50	—	2571	1	1	6	48	3380	2	10	0
60	—	3085	1	7	0	0	4056	3	0	0
70	—	3600	0	4	1	24	4732	3	10	0
80	—	4114	1	1	2	48	5408	4	0	0
90	—	4628	1	6	4	0	6084	4	10	0
100	—	5143	0	3	5	24	6760	5	0	0
500	—	25716	0	2	2	48	33802	1	0	0
1000	—	51432	1	4	5	24	67604	2	0	0
2000	—	102864	1	1	2	48	135208	4	0	0
3000	—	154296	1	6	0	0	202812	6	0	0
4000	—	205729	0	2	5	24	270416	8	0	0
5000	—	257161	0	7	2	48	338020	10	0	0
10000	—	514322	1	6	5	24	676041	8	0	0

AN

ALPHABETIC TABLE

OF

COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHY.

ADAPTED TO THE

TRAVELS OF ANACHARSIS.

A

ABDERA, a Greek town of Thrace, on the coast of the Ægean Sea—now *Ruins* on Cape Baloustra.

Abia, a town of Messenia.

Abydos, a Greek town in Asia, on the Hellespont—now *Nagara*, a village and ruins.

Academy, a garden and gymnasium, without the walls of Athens.

Acanthus, a town of Chalcidice—now *Hierisos*, a town.

Acarnania, a country of Greece—now *La Carnia*, a province.

Achaia, a country of Greece, in the Peloponnesus—the northern part of the Morea.

Acharnæ, a borough of Attica—*Menidi*, a village.

Achelous, a river of Acarnania—now the *Aspro-Potamo*, or *White River*.

Acheron, a river of Epirus — a river which flows out of the lake *Joannina*.

Adranum, a Greek town in Sicily—*Aderno*, a small town.

Adriatic Sea. *See* Sea.

Ægaleus, a mountain of Messenia.

Ægean Sea. *See* Sea.

Ægesta, a Greek town in Sicily—*Calatafimi*, a place in ruins.

Ægina, an island in the Saronic Sea—*Engia Isle*.

Ægira, a town of Achaia—*Ruins*.

Ægium, the principal town of Achaia—*Vostitza*, a small town.

Ægos-Potamos, a river of the Thracian Chersonesus—the river *Indgir-Liman*.

Ænianes, a people of Thessaly.

Ænos, a Greek town of Thrace, on the coast of the Ægean Sea—*Eno*, town.

Æolians of Greece. Under this name were comprehended all the nations of Greece, which derived their origin from Æolus, son of Hellen; as the Thessalians, Locrians, &c. and their colonies.

Æolis, or Æolia, a country of Asia Minor, opposite the island of Lesbos, which also made a part of it—the coasts of the *liva* of *Karasi*.

Ætna, a mountain in Sicily—Mount *Etna* or *Gibel*.

Ætolia, a country of Greece—the country to the north of *Lepanto*.

Africa. *See* Lybia.

Aganippe, a fountain in Bœotia.

Agrigentum, a Greek city in Sicily—*Girgenti*, a town.

Ajax (Tomb of), in Troas, on the shore of the Hellespont — *In Tepé*, a barrow or hill.

Alephira, a town of Arcadia.

Alesiæum, a town of Elis.

Alpenus, a town of the Locrians, near Thermopylæ.

Alpheus, a river of Peloponnesus—*Raphia*, river.

Altir, a sacred grove near Olympia.

Amazons, a warlike nation of Asia, composed of women which dwelt on the banks of the Thermodon, on the southern side of the Poutus Euxinus—It no longer existed in the time of Anacharsis.

Ambracia, a town of Epirus—*L'Arta*, a town.

Ambracia (Gulf of), between Epirus and Acarnania—Gulf of *L'Arta*.

Ambryssus, a town of Phocis—*Distome*, a village and ruins.

Ammon, a place in Libya—*Saint-Rich*, an inhabited district, surrounded by sands.

Amorgos (Island), one of the Cyclades—*Amorgo*, isle.

Amphipolis, a Greek town of Macedonia—*Emboli*, a small town.

Amphissa, the capital of the Ozolian Locrians—*Salone*, a town.

Amyclæ, a town of Laconia—*Sclavo-Chori*, a village.

Anactorium, a town of Acarnania—*Azio*, a place in ruins.

Anaphe (Island), one of the Cyclades—*Nanfio*, isle.

Andros (Island), one of the Cyclades—*Andro*, isle.

Anthedon, a town of Bœotia.

Anthela, a town of Thessaly, near Thermopylæ.

Anthemus, a town of maritime Thrace, or Macedonia.

Anticyra, a town of Phocis, on the Gulf of Crissa—*Aspro Spitia*, a village and ruins.

Antissa, a town of the island of Lesbos—*Porto-Sigri*, a village and castle.

Aornus, or Avernus, a place in Epirus—*Val dell' Orso*.

Aphetæ, a place and promontory in Thessaly—*Cabo-Passara*.

Aphidna, a borough of Attica.

Apollonia, a Greek town of Sicily.

Arabia, a great country of Asia—*Arabia.*

Araxus, a promontory of Achaia—*Cap. Papa.*

Arcadia, a country of Greece, in Peloponnesus—The interior of the Morea.

Arethon, a river of Epirus—The river *L'Arta.*

Arethusa, a fountain in the city of Syracuse, in Sicily.

————, a fountain in the city of Chalcis, in Eubœa.

Argolis, a country of Greece, in Peloponnesus—The eastern part of the Morea.

Argos, the capital of Argolis—*Argos,* a town.

Arisba, a town of the island of Lesbos—Long since destroyed; no remains at present exist.

Armenia, a great country of Asia, subject to the king of Persia—*Armenia,* and a part of Mesopotamia;—at present called *Al-Gezira.*

Arne, a town of Thessaly.

Artemisium, a temple of Diana, in the island Eubœa, on the coast.

Arvisia, a district of the island of Chios—The territory of *St. Helena.*

Asera, a small town of Bœotia.

Asia, one of the three great divisions of the ancient world—*Asia.*

Asia Minor, or rather Lower Asia, a large part of Asia, which was the nearest to Europe, and in which the Greeks had their principal settlements. It contained several provinces, and was entirely subject to the king of Persia—*Asia Minor,* or *Anadoli.*

Asinarus, a river of Sicily—The river *Nota.*

Asopus, a town of Laconia—*Asopo,* or *Castel Rampani,* a small town and castle.

Asopus, a river of Bœotia—*Asopo,* river.

Asopus, a river of Thessaly, in Trachinia.

Assyria, a great country of Asia, of which Babylon was the capital, and which was subject to the king of Persia—*Curdistan,* part of Mesopotamia, or *Al-gezria,* and *Irak Arabi,* provinces of Turkey.

Astacus, a maritime city of Bithynia—Long since destroyed: no remains at present existing.

Astypalæa (Island), one of the Sporades—*Stanpalia,* isle.

Atarnea, a town of Mysia—*Aiasma Keui,* a town.

Athamania, a district of Epirus—*Ano-Vlakia,* a country.

Athens, the capital of Attica, and one of the most powerful cities of Greece—*Athenes,* city and ruins.

Athos (Mount), in Chalcidice, on the coast of the Ægean Sea—*Athos,* or *Monte Santo.*

Atlantic Sea. *See* Sea.

Atlantica, an imaginary island in the sea of that name, which appears to have been a fiction of Solon or Plato, and never to have really existed.

Attica, a country of Greece—The territory of the city of *Athenes*.
Aulis, a town and port of Bœotia—*Micro-Vathi*, or the *little-port*.
Avernus. *See* Aornus.

B

Babylon, the capital of Assyria, and one of the residences of the kings of Persia—Ruins near *Hella*.
Bactriana, a great country of Asia, subject to the king of Persia—The country of *Balk*, part of *Independent Tartary*.
Belmina, a strong town of Laconia.
Bœotia, a country of Greece—The territories of *Livadia* and *Thiva*.
Biblinus, a river in the island of Naxos.
Biblis, a fountain near Miletus—A fountain near the village of *Ieckil-Keui*.
Bisanthe, a town of Thrace, on the Propontis—*Rodosta*, a town.
Bithynia, a country of Asia Minor, on the coast of the Propontis and Pontus Euxinus—The *liva* of *Kodgea-iili*.
Boristhenes, a great river of Scythia—The *Dneiper*.
Bosphorus (Cimmerian), a strait which joins the Palus Mæotis to the Pontus Euxinus—*Strait of Caffa*.
Bosphorus (of Thrace), the strait which joins the Pontus Euxinus to the Propontis—*The Canal or Strait of Constantinople*.
Brauron, a borough of Attica—*Vraona*, a village.
Brutii, a people of Italy—They inhabited the *Two Calabrias*, provinces of the kingdom of Naples.
Brysea, a town of Laconia.
Bulis, a town of Phocis—*Ruins*.
Bura, a town of Achaia—*Peruitza*, a town.
Buthroton, a town of Epirus—*Butrinto*, a small town.
Biblos, a town of Phœnicia—*Gebail*, a small town.
Byzantium, a Greek town in Thrace, on the Propontis—Part of the city of *Constantinople*.

C

Cadir (Strait of). *See* Pillars of Hercules.
Cayster, a river of Ionia—*Kontchouk-Minder*, or the *Little Mæander*.
Calydon, a town of Ætolia.
Calypso (Isle of), on the coast of Italy, near Croton—A *Rock* near *Cape Colonna*.
Camarina, a Greek city of Sicily—*Camarana*, a village and ruins.
Camirus, a small town of the island of Rhodes—*Camira*, a village.
Caphyæ, a town of Arcadia.
Cappadocia, a country of Asia Minor—*Caramania*.
Caressus, or Coresus, a town and port of the Isle of Ceos—Port *Cabia*.
Caria, a country of Asia Minor—*Mentech-iili*, or the *liva* of *Mentech*, and part of that of *Aidin*.

Carthage, a great city on the coast of Libya, or Africa—*Ruins* near the city of *Tunis*.

Carystus, a town of the island of Eubœa—*Caristo*, or *Castel Rosso*, a town and castle.

Caspian Sea. *See* Sea.

Cassiterides, island in the Atlantic Ocean—The Scilly Isles; or perhaps the British Islands.

Castalia, a fountain near the town of Delphi.

Catana, a Greek town of Sicily—*Catania*.

Caunus, a maritime town of Caria—*Kaignez* or *Quingi*, a town.

Celts, a great people of Europe, inhabiting Gaul or Celtica—The *French*.

Cenchræa, the port of Corinth, or the Saronic Sea—*Kikrios*, a village and port.

Centaurs, an ancient people of Thessaly—They no longer existed in the time of Anacharsis.

Ceos (Isle of), one of the Cyclades—*Zea*, isle.

Cephallenia, an island in the Ionian sea—*Cefalonia*.

Cephisus, a river of Phocis.

Cephisus, a river which flows near Athens—The river *Cefissia*.

Cephisus, another river near Eleusis.

Ceramicus without the Walls, a village of Attica, near Athens—*Sepolia*, a village.

Chæronea, a town of Bœotia—*Caprena*, a town.

Chalcedon, a Greek town of Bithynia on the Propontis—*Kadi-Keui*, a town.

Chalcidice, a district of maritime Thrace, or rather of Macedonia, on the Ægean Sea—The country near Mount Athos.

Chalcis, the principal city of the island of Eubœa—*Egripo*, or as commonly called *Negropont*.

Chaldeans, a people of Asia, in the environs of Babylon—They inhabited *Irac Arabi*, a province of Asiatic Turkey.

Chaonins (Chaones), a people of Epirus—They inhabited a part of *Albania*, on the coast.

Chen, a place in Laconia.

Chersonesus (Thracian), a peninsula between the Propontis and the Ægean Sea—Peninsula of *Gallipoli*.

Chersonesus (Taurica), a peninsula between the Palus Mæotis and the Pontus Euxinus—The *Crimea*.

Chios, an island of the Ægean Sea, making part of Ionia—*Chio*, isle.

Chrysopolis, a small town of Asia, on the Bosphorus of Thrace—*Scutari*, a village.

Chrysorrhoas, a river near Troezen—The river *Damala*.

Cilicia, a country of Asia Minor—The country of *Itchiil* and *Anadolui*.

Cirphis, a mountain of Phocis—Mount *Stiva*.

Cirrha, a maritime town of Phocis—Port of *Salone*.

Cissians, a people of Susiana in Asia—They inhabited the territory of *Ahwaz*, in *Khusistan*, a province of Persia.

Cithæron, a mountain between Attica and Bœotia—Mount *Elatea*.

Clazomenæ, a city of Ionia, in Asia Minor—*Isle St. John*, and ruins in the gulf of Smyrna.

Clitor, a town of Arcadia—*Gardichi*, a town.

Cnidus, a city of Doris, in Asia Minor—Port *Genevois*, and ruins.

Cnossus, one of the two principal cities of the island of Crete—*Enadich*, convent and ruins.

Cocytus, a river of Epirus—a river which flows out of the lake *Joannina*.

Colchis, or Colchos, a large country of Asia, on the shore of the Pontus Euxinus—*Mingrelia*, *Guriel*, and *Imeritia*.

Colonides, a small town of Messenia.

Colonos, a borough of Attica—Church of *St. Euphemia*.

Colophon, a city of Ionia, in Asia Minor—No vestige of it now remains.

Copais (Lake), in Bœotia—Lake of *Livadia*.

Corcyra, more anciently the island of the Phœacians, in the Ionian Sea—*Corfu*, isle.

Coricius (Cave), in Phocis—*Cavern* of the fountain *Drosenigo*.

Corinth, the capital of Corinthia, in Peloponnesus.

Corinth, a town at present almost in ruins.

Corone, a town of Messenia—*Coron*, town.

Coronea, a town of Bœotia.

Corsica, or rather Cyrne, an island in the Tyrrhene Sea—*Corsica*.

Cos (Island), one of the Sporades, making part of Doris—*Stan-Co*, island.

Cotylius, a mountain of Arcadia.

Crete (Island), the most southern and largest island in the Ægean Sea—*Candia*.

Crissa (Sea of). *See* Sea.

Cromyon, or Crommyon, or Cremmyon, a place in Corinthia—*Souss Keui*, village.

Croton, a Greek city in Italy—*Cortona*, town.

Cumæ, a Greek town in Italy—Ruins near Naples.

Cyclades, a cluster of islands in the Ægean Sea—They have at present no collective name.

Cydnus, a river of Cilicia in Asia—River *Tarsus*.

Cydonia, a town of the island of Crete—*Acladia*, village and ruins.

Cyllene, a maritime town of Elis—*Chiarenza*, town.

Cyllene, a mountain of Arcadia—*Tricara*, mountain.

Cyme, the principal city of Æolis, in Asia Minor—*Nemourt*, a small town.

Cynætha, a town of Arcadia—*Calavrita*, town.

Cynosarges, a garden and gymnasium, without the walls of Athens.
Cynthus, a mountain in the isle of Delos.
Cyparissia, a town of Messenia—*Arcadia*, town.
Cyrenaica, a country of Africa or Lybia, subject to the king of Persia—Country of *Derna*.
Cyrene, a Greek city, the capital of Cyrenaica—*Curin*, a small place, and ruins.
Cythera, an island to the south of Laconia—*Cerigo*, isle.
Cythros (Island), one of the Cyclades—*Thermia*, isle.
Cyzicum or Cyzicus, a Greek city, on an island of the same name, in the Propontis—Ruins near the town of *Artaki*.

D

Decelia, a village and castle of Attica.
Delium, a small town of Bœotia.
Delos (Island), the smallest, but most celebrated of the Cyclades—*Delos*, the smallest of two islands, called *Sdiles* by the pilots.
Delphi, a celebrated town of Phocis—*Castri*, village.
Dodona, a town of Epirus.
Dolopes, a people of Thessaly—They were almost extinct in the time of Anacharsis.
Dorians of Greece—Under this name were comprehended all the nations of Greece which derived their origin from Dorus the son of Hellen, as the Lacedæmonians, the Messenians, the Argives, the Corinthians, &c. and their colonies.
Doris, a district of Caria in Asia Minor, which also included several islands of the Ægean Sea—The peninsula situate between the gulf of *Stan-Co*, and that of Simia.
Doriscus (Plain of), in Thrace—Plain of *Roumigick*.
Dyme, a town of Achaia.
Dyspontium, a town of Elis.

E

Ecbatana, the capital of Media, and one of the residences of the kings of Persia—*Hamadan*, city.
Egypt, a great country of Africa or Libya, subject to the king of Persia—*Egypt*.
Eira, a mountain and fortress of Messenia.
Elaias, a mountain of Arcadia.
Elatea, a town of Phocis—*Turco-Chorio*, village.
Elatia, a town of Thessaly.
Elea, a Greek town in Italy—*Castello a mare della Brucca*, a small town.
Eleusis, a town of Attica—*Lefsina*, village and ruins.
Elis, a district of Greece, in Peloponnesus—The western part of the *Morea*.

Ephesus, a city of Ionia in Asia Minor—*Aiosolouk*, village and ruins.

Epidamnus, a Greek town in Illyria—*Durazzo*, town.

Epidaurus, a town near Argolis, on the Saronic sea—*Epitavro*, village and ruins.

Epirus, a country of Europe to the north-west of Greece—The southern part of Albania.

Eressus, a town of the island of Lesbos—*Hiersa*, village.

Eretria, a town of the island of Eubœa—*Rocho*, village and ruins.

Erymanthus, a river of Arcadia—River *Dimizana*.

Erythræ, a town of Ionia, in Asia Minor—*Ritre*, village and ruins.

Ethiopeans, the inhabitants of the interior of Africa or Libya—The inhabitants of *Nubia* and *Abyssinia*.

Eubœa, a large island of the Ægean sea—*Egripo*, or more commonly *Negropont*, island.

Eubœa, a mountain of Argolis, near Mycenæ.

Euhesperidæ (Port of the), in Africa or Libya, where afterwards was built the town of Berenice—*Bernic*, town.

Euripus, the strait which separates the island of Eubœa from the continent of Greece—*Egripo*.

Europe, one of the three parts of the world—*Europe*.

Eurotas, a river of Laconia—*Vassili-Potamo*, or the *Royal River*.

F

Five Hills (the), a place near Sparta.

G

Gadir, the Phœnician name of a town of Iberia—*Cadiz*, a town of Spain.

Gargaphia, a fountain of Bœotia.

Gaul, or rather *Celtica*, a great country of Europe, inhabited by the Celts—*France*.

Gela, a Greek city in Sicily—*Terra-Nuova*, village.

Gerenia, a town of Messenia—*Tarnata*, a small town.

Gomphi, a town of Thessaly—*Stagi*, village.

Gonnus, a town of Thessaly—*Goniga*, village.

Gortyna, one of the two principal cities of the island of Crete—*Novi Castelli*, village and ruins.

Gortynius, a river of Arcadia—*Garitena*, river.

Gortys, a village of Arcadia—*Garitena*, a small town.

Greece, a large country of Europe, inhabited by the Greeks—The southern part of *Turkey in Europe*.

Under the name of Greece were frequently comprehended, not only the continent of Greece, but the islands likewise, and sometimes even the Greek Colonies.

Greece (Great), Magna Græcia—The name given to the southern part of Italy, which was inhabited by Greek Colonies.

Gyaros (Island), one of the Cyclades—*Joura*, isle.

Gyrton, a town of Thessaly.

Gythium, a town of Laconia, and port thirty stadia from the town—*Colochina*, town, and port one league from the town.

H

Hæmus, a mountain of Thrace—*Balkan*, mountain or *Emineh-dag*.

Haliartus, a town in Bœotia.

Halicarnassus, a Greek city in Caria—*Bourdoun*, castle and ruins.

Halonesus, an island in the Ægean Sea—*Machriso*, isle.

Halus, or rather Alos, a town of Thessaly.

Hebrus, a river of Thrace—*Marizzo*, river.

Hecuba (Tomb of), in the Thracian Chersonesus, on the Hellespont—*Old Castle* on the European side *of the Dardanelles*.

Helice, a town of Achaia, destroyed by an earthquake, and covered by the sea.

Helice, a village of Achaia, on the sea-shore, near the ancient town—*Trypia*, village.

Helicon, a mountain of Bœotia—*Zagara*, mountain.

Helisson, a river of Arcadia.

Hellespont, the strait which joins the Propontis to the Ægean sea—The *Strait of the Dardanelles*.

Helos, a town of Laconia—*Tsyli*, village.

Heraclea, a Greek city of Asia, on the Pontus Euxinus—*Erekli*, town.

Heraclea, a town of Thessaly, near Thermopylæ. It had succeeded that of Trachis, being built at a small distance from its site. *See* Trachis.

Hercules Melampygus (Stone of), an altar or statue of Hercules in the country of the Locrians near Thermopylæ.

Hercyna, a river of Phocis—River of *Livadia*.

Heræa, a strong town of Thrace, on the Propontis—*Mouria*, village.

Hermione, a city near Argolis on the Ægean Sea—*Castri*, village and ruins.

Hermus, a river of Asia Minor—*Sarabat*, river.

Hero (Tower of), near Sestus, in the Thracian Chersonesus—It no longer exists.

Hesperides (Garden of the) an imaginary place, supposed by the Greeks to be situate at the western extremity of the world.

Himera, a Greek city of Sicily—Ruins near the town of *Termini*.

Hippocrene, a fountain in Bœotia.

Homer (Grotto of), at the source of the Meles in Ionia.

Homolis, a small town of Thessaly—*Baba*, village.

Hylica, a lake in Bœotia—Lake of *Thiva*.

Hymettus, a mountain of Attica—*Telovouni.*

Hypata, a town of Thessaly—*Patratziki, or New Patras,* town.

Hyperboreans, an imaginary people, said by the Greeks to inhabit the north of Greece, but whose name only signifies *those who dwell above or beyond the north.*

Hysiæ, a town of Argolis.

I

Ialysus, a small town in the island of Rhodes—Ruins near Mount *Philerme.*

Iasus, a town of Caira, in Asia Minor—*Assem Kalasi,* castle and ruins.

Iberia, a great country of Europe—*Spain.*

Icaria, a borough or village of Attica.

Icarus, or Icaros, an island in the Ægean Sea—*Nicaria,* isle.

Ida, a great mountain in the island of Crete—*Ida,* or *Psiloriti,* mountain.

Ida, a mountain of Troas in Asia Minor—*Ida,* mountain.

Ilion or Ilium, see Troy.

Ilissus, a small river near Athens—*Ilisse,* river.

Illyria or Illyricum, a large country of Europe, in part subject to Philip king of Macedon—This country comprehended the whole of *Dalmatia* and *Albania.*

Imbrasus, a river of the island of Samos—River *of the Mills.*

Imbros, an island of the Ægean Sea—*Imbro,* isle.

Inachus, a river of Argolis—*Petri,* river.

India, a great country of Asia, the most eastern known in the time of Anacharsis, inhabited by the Indians, and in part subject to the king of Persia—*India,* or *Hindoostan.*

Indus, a great river of Asia, the boundary of the empire of the Persians to the east—The *Sind* or *Indus,* river.

Ionia, a district of Asia Minor, which includes the coasts of Lydia, and a part of those of Caria, with the isles of Chios and Samos—The coasts of the *Livas* of *Sarukhan* and *Aidin.*

Ionian Sea. *See* Sea.

Ionians of Greece—Under this name were comprehended all the nations of Greece which derived their origin from Ion, the grandson of Hellen; as the Athenians, &c. and their colonies.

Inopus, a river of the island of Delos.

Ios (Island of), one of the Cyclades—*Nio,* isle.

Ioulis, the principal city of the island of Ceos—In *ruins.*

Ister, a great river of Europe, which falls into the Pontus Euxinus—The *Danube.*

Isthmus of Corinth—the isthmus which joins Peloponnesus to the continent of Greece—*Hexa Milia.*

Ithaca, an island in the Ionian sea—*Teaki*, isle.

Ithome, a mountain and fortress of Messenia—*Vulcano*, mountain.

J

Juno (Temple of), near the city of Samos—One column of it still remains standing.

Juno (Temple of), between Mycenæ and Argos.

Jupiter (Cave and Tomb of), in the island of Crete near Cnossus—Grotto, still called the *Tomb of Jupiter*.

L

Labyrinth, of Crete, near Gortyna—*Cavern*, in Mount Ida.

Lacedæmon. *See* Sparta.

Laconia, a district of Greece in Peloponnesus—*Tzaconia, and the country of the Maïnotes*, in the *Morea*.

Ladon, a river of Arcadia.

Lamia, a town of Thessaly—*Zeitoun*, town.

Lampsacus, a Greek city in Asia, on the Hellespont—*Lampsaki*, village.

Lapithæ, an ancient people of Thessaly—They no longer existed in the time of Anacharsis.

Larissa, the principal city of Thessaly—*Larissa* in Greek, or *Iegnisher* in Turkish; that is to say, the new city.

Larissus, the river which separated Elis from Achaia.

Latmus, a mountain of Ionia, or of Caria.

Laurium, a mountain of Attica.

Lebadea, a town of Bœotia—*Livadia*, town.

Lebedos, a town of Ionia, in Asia Minor—*Ruins*, on the sea-shore.

Lechæum, the port of Corinth, on the sea of Crissa—*Alica*, village.

Lelantus, a river of Eubœa.

Lemnos, an island in the Ægean Sea—*Lemno*, or *Stalimene*, isle.

Leontium or rather Leontini, a Greek city in Sicily—*Leontini*, town.

Lepethymnus (Mount), in the island of Lesbos.

Lerna (Marsh of), in Argolis—*The Mills*, a lake so called, because at its mouth there are mills which it turns.

Leros (Island of), one of the Sporades—*Lero*, isle.

Lesbos, a large island of the Ægean Sea, which made a part of Æolis—*Metelin*, isle.

Lethe, a fountain near Lebadea in Bœotia.

Letrines, a small town of Elis, near the mouth of the Alpheus.

Leucadia, a peninsula, or island, on the coast of Acarnania—*Santa Maura*, isle.

Leucate, a promontory in the island of Leucadia, on which was a temple of Apollo—Cape *Ducato*.

Leuctra, a town of Bœotia—*Parapogia*, village.

Libya or Africa, one of the three parts of the world—*Africa*.

Libya (Sea of). *See* Sea.

Lilæa, a town of Phocis—*Lampeni*, village.

Lindus, a small town of the island of Rhodes—*Lindo*, village.

Locri or Locri Epizephyrii, a Greek town in Italy, the inhabitants of which were called Epizephyrian Locrians—*Motta di Bruzzano*, village and ruins.

Locrians (Ozolian), a people of Greece, inhabiting between Phocis and Ætolia—The territories of *Salona* and *Lepanto*.

Locris—under this generic name were comprehended three small countries of Greece, separated from each other, but inhabited by nations of the same origin, and called one *Epicnemidian Locrians*, another *Opuntian Locrians*, and the third *Ozolian Locrians*.

Lucania, a district of Italy—*Basilicata* and *Principato Citeriore*, provinces of the kingdom of Naples.

Lycabettus, a hill within the city of Athens.

Lycæus, or Olympia, a mountain of Arcadia.

Lycia, a country of Asia Minor—Parts of the *Livas* of *Mentech* and *Tekieh*.

Lycorea, the highest summit of the Mount Parnassus in Phocis—*Liacoura*, mountain.

Lycosura, a town of Arcadia.

Lydia, a country of Asia Minor—A great part of the *Livas* of *Aidin*, and *Sarukhan*.

Lyetos, a very ancient city of the island of Crete—*Lassiti*, town.

M

Macedonia, a great country of Europe to the north of Greece—That part of *Romelia* or *Roumiili*, which lies to the north of Salonica, and extends to the mountains.

Under this name were likewise comprehended all the states of Philip king of Macedon, who possessed Thrace, and a great part of Illyria.

Magnesia, a district of Thessaly, inhabited by the Magnetes—The countries of *Zagora* and *Macrinitza*.

Magnesia on the Mæander, a Greek city of Caria, near the Mæander—*Ghermansik*, village and ruins.

Malea, a promontory of Laconia—Cape *Malio*, or *St. Angelo*.

Malea, a promontory of the island of Lesbos—*Zeitin-Boroun*.

Malians, a people of Thessaly—They inhabited the modern territory of *Zeitoun*.

Mantinea, a town of Arcadia—*Mandi*, village and ruins.

Marathon, a large borough of Attica—*Marathon*, village.

Marpessa, a mountain in the island of Paros.

Massilia, a Greek city in the country of the Celtæ—*Marseilles*, a city of France.

Mæander, a great river of Asia Minor—*Bejouk Minder*, or the *Great Meander*.

Mænalus, a mountain of Arcadia.

Media, a great country of Asia, inhabited by the Medes, and subject to the king of Persia—*Irak Ajami*, a province of Persia.

Megalopolis, the principal city of Arcadia—*Sinano*, village and ruins.

Megara, a small Greek town of Sicily—Peninsula *delli Magnesi*.

Megara, the principal city of Megaris—*Megara*, a small town.

Megaris, a small district of Greece—The territory of *Megara*.

Melas, a river of Pamphylia—*Alarasoui*, river.

Meles, a small river near Smyrna—River of *Smyrna*.

Melite, an island to the south of Sicily—*Malta*.

Melos (Island), one of the Cyclades—*Milo*, isle.

Memphis, the capital of Egypt—No vestige of this city now remains.

Mende, a town of the peninsula of Pallene in Macedonia.

Menelaion, a mountain of Laconia.

Messana, or Messene, more anciently Zancle, a Greek city of Sicily—*Messina*.

Messene, the principal city of Messenia—*Mawra Matia*, town in ruins.

Messenia, a district of Greece, in Peloponnesus—The south-west part of the *Morea*.

Messenia (Gulf of), between Messenia and Laconia—*Gulf of Coron*.

Metapontum, a Greek town of Italy—*Torre di Mare*, tower and village.

Methone, a town of Macedonia.

Methymna, a town of the island of Lesbos—*Molivo*, town and castle.

Midea, a town of Argolis—*Mezzo*, village.

Miletus, the principal city of Ionia, in Asia Minor—*Palatsha*, village and ruins.

Milichus, a river of Achaia.

Minoa, a maritime town of Sicily—*Torre di Capo Bianco*,—tower and ruins.

Mnemosyne, a fountain near Lebadea, in Bœotia.

Molossi, a people of Epirus—They inhabited a part of *Albania*.

Mopsium, a town of Thessaly.

Mothone, a town of Messenia—*Modon*, town.

Munychia, one of the ports of Athens—*Porto*.

Mycale, a mountain of Ionia in Asia Minor—*Samsoun*, mountain.

Mycenæ, a city of Argolis—*Carvathos*, village and ruins.

Mycone (Island), one of the Cyclades—*Myconi*, isle.

Mylasa, a town of Caria, in Asia Minor—*Mylasa*, town.

Myndus, a city of Caria, in Asia Minor—*Myndus*, village and ruins.

Mysia, a country of Asia Minor, which extended from the Propontis to

the Ægean Sea—The *Liva* of Karasi, and part of that of *Kodavendikiar*.

Mytilene, the principal city of the island of Lesbos—*Metelin*, town.

Myus, a town of Ionia in Asia Minor—Long since destroyed, and no vestige of it remaining.

N

Narcissus (Fountain of), in Bœotia.

Naucratis, a Greek city in Egypt.

Naupactus, a town in the country of the Ozolian Locrians—*Lepanto*, town.

Nauplia, a town of Argolis—*Napoli di Romania*, town.

Naxos (Island), one of the Cyclades—*Naxia*, isle.

Naxos, a Greek town in Sicily—*Castel-Schisso*, castle.

Neapolis. *See* Parthenope.

Neda, a river which separated Elis from Messenia—The river *Avlon*.

Nemea, a village, anciently a great town of Arcadia—*Ruins*.

Nemea (Forest of), near the town of the same name.

Nemea (Cave of the lion of), in Argolis—*Cavern* between Argos and Corinth.

Neptune (Promontory and temple of), in the island of Samos—Cape and church of *St. John*.

Nestus, a river of Thrace—*Kara-sou*, or *Mesto*, river.

Nicæa, a fortress in the country of the Locrians near Thermopylæ.

Nile, a great river of Africa or Libya—The *Nile*.

Nisæa, the port of Megara, on the Saronic sea—The *Twelve Churches*, village.

Nonacris, a small town in Arcadia.

O

Ocha, a mountain in the island of Eubœa—*Caristo*, mountain.

Œnoe, a borough or hamlet of Attica, near Eleusis.

Œta, a mountain which separated Phocis from Thessaly—*Coumaïta*, mountain.

Œteans, a people of Thessaly, who inhabited mount Œta.

Olbius, a river of Arcadia; the same with the Aroanius.

Olympia or Pisa, a celebrated city of Elis—*Miraca*, village and ruins.

Olympias, an intermitting fountain in Arcadia.

Olympus, a mountain which separated Thessaly from Macedonia—*Olympus*, mountain.

Olympus, a mountain of Arcadia. *See* Lycæus.

Olynthus, a city of Chalcidice in Macedonia—*Agio Mama*, village.

Ophiusa. *See* Rhodes.

Opus, the capital of the Opuntian Locrians—*Talanda*, a small town.

Orchomenus, a town of Bœotia—*Scripous*, village and ruins.

Orchomenus, a town of Arcadia.

Oreus, a town of the island of Eubœa—*Oreo*, town and harbour.

Oropus, a town of Bœotia, long disputed by the Thebans and Athenians —*Oropo*, village.

Ossa, a mountain of Thessaly—*Kissabo*, mountain.

P

Pachynum, a promontory of Sicily—*Cape Passaro*.

Pactolus, a river of Lydia—*Sart*, river.

Pæonia, a district of Macedonia, on the confines of Thrace—The country near the source of the river *Marizza*.

Pagæ, a town of Megaris—*Psato*, village.

Pagasæ, a town and port in Thessaly—Castle and harbour of *Volo*.

Pallene, a peninsula of Chalcidice, in Macedonia—Peninsula of *Cassandra*.

Palus Mæotis, a great lake or sea which communicates with the Pontus Euxinus, by the Cimmerian Bosphorus—The *Sea of Azof*.

Pamisus, a river of Messenia—*Spirnazza*, river.

Pamphylia, a country of Asia Minor—The *Livas* of *Hamid* and *Tekieh*; and the countries of *Versak* and *Alanieh*.

Pangæus, a mountain of Macedonia, on the confines of Thrace—*Castagnatz*, mountain.

Panopeus or Phanoteus, a town of Phocis.

Panormus, a harbour of Attica—Port *Rafti*, or the *Port of the Taylor*.

Panticapæum, a town of the Tauric Chersonesus, on the Cimmerian Bosphorus—*Kertch*, town.

Paphlagonia, a country of Asia Minor—The *Liva* of *Castamoni*, and part of that of *Boli*.

Paralos, a district of Attica, situate to the south-east of Athens—*Mesogia*, district.

Parapotamii, a town of Phocis.

Parnassus, an extensive chain of mountains in Phocis. *See* Lycorea.

Paros (Island of), one of the Cyclades—*Paros*, isle.

Parthenope or Neapolis, a Greek city in Italy—*Naples*, city.

Pasagarda, a city of Persia proper—*Pasa*, or *Fesa*, town.

Patmos (Island of), one of the Sporades—*Patmos*, isle.

Patræ, a town of Achaia—*Patras*, town.

Pelion, a mountain of Thessaly—*Petra*, mountain.

Pella, the capital of Macedonia—Ruins in the lake of *Ostrovo*.

Pellana, a town of Laconia.

Pellene or Pallene, a town of Achaia—*Xylo Castro*, village.

Peloponnesus, a peninsula which forms the southern part of Greece, and which is joined to the continent by the isthmus of Corinth—The *Morea*.

Peneius, a river of Elis—*Igliaco*, river.

Penelope (Tomb of), in Arcadia.

Peneus, a river of Thessaly—*Salampria*, river.

Pentelicus, a mountain of Attica—*Penteli*, mountain.

Peparethus, an island in the Ægean sea—*Piperi*, isle.

Perinthus, a Greek city in Thrace, on the Propontis; afterwards called Heraclea—*Ruins of Heraclea.*

Permessus, a river of Bœotia.

Perrhæbians, a people of Thessaly, who inhabited the district called Perrhæbia—The territories of *Elasson* and *Tormovo.*

There were also Perrhæbians in Thessaly.

Persepolis, the capital of Persia, properly so called, and the ancient residence of the kings of Persia—*Issthakhar*, a city in ruins.

Persia, a vast kingdom, otherwise called the *Dominions of the Great King*. This kingdom comprehended almost the whole of Asia then known, and in Africa or Libya, Egypt and Cyrenaica.

Persia, properly so called, a large country of Asia, inhabited by the Persians, and of which Persepolis was the capital—*Fars*, or *Farsistan*, a province of Persia.

Phæacians. *See* Corcyra.

Phæstus, a city of the island of Crete, long since destroyed—No vestiges of it now remain.

Phalanna, a town of Thessaly.

Phalerum, a borough of Attica, and one of the Ports of Athens—*Saint Nicholas*, village and harbour.

Pharæ, a town of Achaia.

Pharsalus, a town of Thessaly—It has been destroyed since the time of the travels of Anacharsis, and is called *Palæ Pharsalus.*

Phasis, the river of Colchis—*Fach*, river.

Pheneus, a town of Arcadia—*Phonia*, town.

Pheræ, a town of Messenia—*Calamata*, town.

Pheræ, a town of Thessaly—*Pheres*, or *Sidiro*, town.

Phigalea, a town of Arcadia.

Phineus, or rather Sphingius, a mountain of Bœotia—*Mazaraci*, mountain.

Phlius, the capital of Phlinsia, in Peloponnesus—*Sta-Phlica*, village and ruins.

Phocæa, a city of Ionia in Asia Minor—*Phokia Veccia*, town and ruins.

Phocis, a district of Greece—Territory of *Turco Chorio*, and a part of that of *Salona.*

Phœnicia, a country of Asia, on the sea, of which Tyre was the capital, and which was subject to the king of Persia—The coast of *Syria.*

Phœnix, a small river of Thessaly, which falls into the Asopus, near Thermopylæ.

Phrygia, a country of the interior of Asia Minor—The *Lives* of *Kutaieh*, *Degnizla*, *Afiom-Cara-Hissar*, *Angouri*, and others.

Phtiotes, a people of Thessaly, who inhabited the district called Phthiotia.

Phyle, a town and fortress of Attica—*Vigla Castro*, an old castle.

Pierians, a people between Macedonia and Thrace: they inhabited Mount Pangæus.

Pillars of Hercules, or Strait of Cadir, or rather Gadir, which separates Europe from Africa or Libya—The *Strait of Gibraltar*.

Pindus, a chain of mountains which separate Thessaly from Epirus—*Metzovo*, mountain.

Piræus, a large borough of Attica, and one of the ports of Athens—*Porto Leone*.

Pirene, a fountain in the citadel of Corinth.

Pisa, see Olympia.

Platanistas, a place of exercise near Sparta.

Platæa, a town of Bœotia—*Cocla*, village and ruins.

Plistus, a river of Phocis which flows down from Delphi—*Sizalisca*, river.

Pontus Euxinus, a great sea between Europe and Asia—The *Black Sea*.

Potidæa, a Greek city in maritime Thrace, or Macedonia, afterwards called Cassandria—The *Gates of Cassander*, ruins.

Prasiæ, a town of Attica—*Ruins*.

Priene, a city of Ionia, in Asia Minor—*Samsoun*, castle and ruins.

Proconnesus, an island of the Propontis—Isle of *Marmara*.

Propontis (The), a small sea, inclosed between Europe and Asia, which communicates with the Pontus Euxinus by the Bosporus of Thrace, and with the Ægean Sea, by the strait of the Hellespont—The sea of *Marmara*.

Psophis, a town of Arcadia—*Dimizana*, town.

Psyttalia, a small island of the Saronic Sea, near that of Salamis—*Lipsocoutalia*, isle.

Ptons, a mountain of Bœotia—*Cocino*, mountain.

Pydna, a town of Macedonia—*Kitro*, town.

Pygela, a town of Ionia, in Asia Minor.

Pygmies, an imaginary nation, notwithstanding what Aristotle may have said, which the Greeks placed in the most southern part of Africa.

Pylos, a town of Messenia—*Zonchio*, or *Old Navarins*, town and ruins.

Pyrenees, the chain of mountains which divided Iberia from the country of the Celtæ—The *Pyrenees*, mountains.

Pyrrha, a town of the island of Lesbos—*Port Pira*, and *ruins*.

R

Rhamnos, a borough or village of Attica—*Hebræa-castro*, village and castle.

Rhegium, a Greek city in Italy—*Reggio*, town.

Rhenea (Island of), one of the Cyclades—The *Great Delos*; one of the two islands called *Sdiles* by the pilots.

Rhodes (Island), more anciently *Ophiusa*; the last island in the Ægean Sea, on the coast of Caria, and making a part of Doris—*Rhodes*, island.

Rhoda, a Greek town in Iberia—*Roses*, a town in *Spain*.

Rhodes, the principal city of the island of Rhodes—*Rhodes*, town.

Road, of the Ladder, a road leading from Arcadia into Argolis.

S

Sacæ, a great nation of the interior of Asia, in part subject to the king of Persia—They inhabited the country of *Sakita*, near that of *Balk* in Independent Tartary.

Sais, a city of Egypt—*Sa*, a place in Egypt.

Salamis, an island of the Saronic Sea, which made part of Attica—*Coulouri*, isle.

Salapia, a Greek city of Italy, which was afterwards removed to some distance from the sea—*Tarre delle Saline*.

Salganeus, a town of Bœotia—*Saint George*, convent and ruins.

Samos, an island of the Ægean Sea, making part of Ionia—*Samos*, isle.

Samothrace (Island of), in the Ægean Sea—*Samothraki*, isle.

Sardes, the capital of Lydia—*Sart*, town.

Sardinia, or rather Lardo, a large island in the sea of Tyrrhenia—*Sardinia*, island.

Saronic Sea *See* Sea.

Saturn (Mount of), in Elis, near the town of Olympia.

Saurus, a fountain in the Island of Crete.

Scamander, a river of Troas, mentioned by Homer—*Kirke-Keuzler*, river.

Scamander, another river of Troas, which is the Simois of Homer—*Mendere-sou*, river.

Scandea, the town and port of the island of Cythera—*Saint Nicholas*, fort and harbour.

Scillus, a town of Elis, in Peloponnesus.

Sciritis, a small district of Arcadia, in the environs of Scirtonium, and on the confines of Laconia, which for a long time appertained to the Lacedæmonians.

Sciron (The road of), which led from Megaris into Corinthia, and which passed over rocks on the edge of the sea—*Kaki-Scala*, at present a ruinous road.

Scyros, an island in the Ægean Sea—*Skcyros*, isle.

Scythia, a great country of Europe, which extended from the Ister to the Tanais—It included what was formerly called *Little Tartary*, the *Crimea*, *Moldavia*, and *Wallachia*.

Sea, Adriatic; the sea on the northern coast of Italy—The *Adriatic Sea*, or *Gulf of Venice*.

Sea, Ægean, between Greece and Asia Minor: it is full of islands—The *Archipelago.*

Sea, Atlantic, beyond the Pillars of Hercules: it was even believed to wash the coasts of the Indies—The *Atlantic Ocean.*

Sea, Caspian, in the interior of Asia—The *Caspian Sea.*

Sea of Crissa, between Achaia and Phocis—*Gulf of Lepanto.*

Sea, Ionian: it separated Greece from Italy and Sicily—*Part of the Mediterranean Sea,* situate between Turkey, Italy, and Sicily.

Sea, Red, or Gulf of Arabia; separating Arabia from Egypt—*Arabian Gulf;* or *Red Sea.*

Sea, Saronic, between Attica, Corinthia, and Argolis—*Gulf of Engia.*

Sea of Tyrrhenia: it washed the southern coasts of Italy, those of Sicily and the islands of Corsica and Sardinia—The *Sea of Tuscany.*

Selinus, a Greek city in Sicily—*Torre di Polluce,* tower and considerable ruins.

Selinus, a small river of Elis, which flowed by Scillus.

Selymbria, a Greek city in Thrace, on the Propontis—*Selivria,* a small town.

Seriphus (Island of), one of the Cyclades—*Serpho,* isle.

Sestos, a town of the Thracian Chersonesus, on the Hellespont—*Ak-Bachi-Liman,* a port, castle, and ruins.

Sicily, or Sicilia, a large island, near to Italy, almost entirely inhabited by Greeks, a part of which was subject to the Carthaginians, and the rest free—*Sicily.*

Sicyon, the capital of Sicyonia, in Peloponnesus—*Basilico,* town and ruins.

Sidon, a city of Phœnicia—*Said,* city.

Sinope, a Greek city on the southern shore of the Pontus Euxinus—*Sinope,* town.

Siphnos (Island of), one of the Cyclades—*Siphanto,* isle.

Smyrna, a city of Ionia, in Asia Minor—No vestiges of it are now remaining.

This city is the ancient Smyrna which was removed a short time after the supposed travels of Anacharsis to the place where the present city of Smyrna stands.

Soron, a grove in Arcadia.

Sparta or Lacedæmon, the capital of Laconia, and one of the most powerful cities of Greece—*Ruins* at a little distance from the town of *Misistra.*

Sperchius, a river of Thessaly—*Potami-tees-Hellados,* or the *River of Greece.*

Sphacteria, an island on the coast of Messenia—A large island in front of the port of *Navarins.*

Stagira, a city of Chalcidice in Macedonia—*Port Libezade,* and ruins.

Stymphalus, a mountain, town, lake, and river in Arcadia—*Gumnus*, town.

Styx, a celebrated stream in Arcadia.

Sunium, a promontory of Attica—*Cape Colonno.*

Sunium, a town and fortress of Attica—*Ruins.*

Susiana, a great country of Asia, subject to the king of Persia—*Khazistan*, a province of Persia

Suza, or rather Susa, the capital of *Susiana*, one of the residences of the kings of Persia—*Toster*, city.

Sybaris. *See* Thurium.

Sycurium, a town of Thessaly.

Syracuse, a Greek city in Sicily, and the principal in the island—*Siracusa*, town.

Syros or Syra (Island of), one of the Cyclades—*Syra*, isle.

T

Tænarus, a town of Laconia—*Caibares*, village.

Tænarum, a promontory of Laconia—*Cape Matapan.*

Taletus (The), the summit of mount Taygetus in Laconia.

Tamynæ (Plain of), in the island of Eubœa.

Tanagra, a town of Bœotia—*Sicamino*, town.

Tanais (The), a great river of Scythia, which falls into the Palus Mæotis—The *Don*, river.

Tarentum, a Greek city in Italy—*Taranto*, town.

Tartessus (Island of), in the Atlantic Sea, on the coast of Iberia—A large island at the mouth of the *Guadalquiver*, in Spain.

Tauromenium, a Greek city in Sicily—*Taormina*, town.

Taygetus, a chain of mountains in Laconia, *Vouni tees Misistras*; and *Vouni tees Portais.*

Tegea, a town in Arcadia—*Palæo Tripolizza*, a place in ruins.

Telchinians, an ancient people of the island of Crete, who afterwards emigrated and settled in the island of Rhodes—They no longer existed in the time of Anacharsis.

Temesa, a Greek city in Italy—*Torre di Nocera.*

Tempe, a celebrated valley of Thessaly, near the mouth of the Peneus.

Tenedos, an island of the Ægean Sea, making part of Æolis—*Tenedo*, isle.

Tenos (Island of), one of the Cyclades—*Tino*, isle.

Teos, a town of Ionia, in Asia Minor—*Bodroun*, village and ruins.

Thasos, an island in the Ægean Sea, near the coast of Thrace—*Thaso*, isle.

Thaumaci, a town of Thessaly—*Thaumaco*, town.

Thebais, a district of Egypt, of which Thebes was the capital—The *Said*, or *Upper Egypt.*

Thebes, a city of Egypt, the capital of the Thebais—*Aksor* or *Luxor*, village and grand ruins.

Thebes or Thebæ, the capital of Bœotia—*Thiva*, a small town.

Thebæ, a town of Phthiotis, in Thessaly.

Theodosia, a town of the Tauric Chersonesus—*Caffa*, town.

Thera (Island of), one of the Cyclades—*Santorin*, isle.

Thermaic Gulf, between Macedonia and Thessaly—The *Gulf of Salonichi*.

Thermodon, a river of Asia Minor, which falls into the Pontus Euxinus, and on the banks of which dwelt the Amazons—*Termeh*, river.

Thermodon, a small river of Bœotia.

Thermopylæ, the strait between the sea, and the mountains, and which was the entrance from Thessaly into the country of the Locrians, and into Phocis—*Thermi*, or the *Warm Springs*.

Thermus, the principal town of Ætolia.

Theron, a river in the island of Crete.

Thespiæ, a town of Bœotia—*Neo-Chorio*, village and ruins.

Thessaly, the most northern country of Greece—The territories of *Larissa Zeitoun*, and others.

Thessalians, properly so called (The), were the most powerful people of Thessaly: they inhabited the valley of Peneus, and all the country to the north—The territories of *Larissa* and *Stagi*.

Thiuns, a river of Arcadia.

Thoricus, a town and fortress of Attica—*Thorico*, village.

Thrace, a great country of Europe, situate on the Pontus Euxinus, and the Ægean sea, almost entirely subject to Philip of Macedon—Great part of *Roum-iili* or *Romelia*, and of *Bulgaria*.

Thrace (Maritime),—Under this name was comprehended, not only the coasts of Thrace on the Ægean Sea, but also those of Macedonia, as far as Thessaly, because the Thracians anciently extended so far; but they were driven out by the Greeks and Macedonians, and this name, in the time of Anacharsis was only applicable to a small kingdom, formed on the coast of Thrace only, and which was soon after destroyed by Philip.

Thronium, the principal town of the Epicnemidian Locrians—*Ruins* near a guard-house.

Thurium, a Greek city in Italy, more anciently called Sybaris—*Torre Brodogneto*, tower and ruins of Sybaris.

Thyrea, a town of Cynuria, a district of Argolis.

Tiryns, a town of Argolis—*Palæo*, or *Old Napoli*, a place in ruins.

Titana, a town of Sicyonia, in Peloponnesus—*Phouca*, village.

Titaresius, a river of Thessaly—*Sarantaporos*, or the *River of Forty Passages*.

Tithorea, a town of Phocis.

Tomarus, a mountain above Dodona, in Epirus—*Tzumerca*, mountain.

Trachinia, a district of Thessaly, near Thermopylæ—The territory of *Zeitoun*.

Trachis, or Trachin, a town of Trachinia.

It no longer existed in the time of Anacharsis, but had been succeeded by the town of Heraclea, but at a small distance from it, see Heraclea.

Trapezus, a town of Arcadia.

Triopium, a promontory of Doris, in Asia Minor—*Cape Crio.*

Triphylia, a district of Elis, in Peloponnesus—The country near the mouths of the *Rophia.*

Troas, a country of Asia Minor, on the Hellespont and the Ægean Sea, in which stood the city of Troy—The western part of the *Liva* of *Karasi*, on the Archipelago.

Trœzen, a town on the confines of Argolis, near the Saronic sea—*Damala*, village and ruins.

Troy or Ilion, or Ilium, a city of Troas, destroyed by the Greeks, and afterwards rebuilt by the Æolians, under the same name, and in the same place—*Bounarbachi*, village and ruins.

Trophonius (Cave of), near Lebadea, in Bœotia.

Tyre, the capital of Phœnicia—*Sour*, a city in ruins.

Tyrrhene Sea. *See* Sea.

W

White Mountains (The), in the Island of Crete—*Sfacciotes*, mountains.

Z

Zacynthus, an island in the Ionian sea—*Zante*, isle.

Zancle. *See* Messina.

Zaretra (Fort), in the Island of Eubœa—*Cupo*, a small town.

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